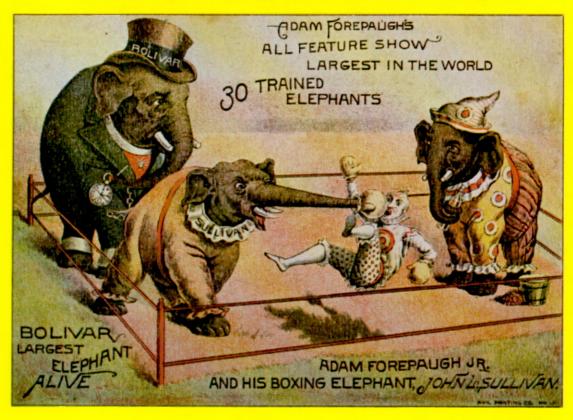
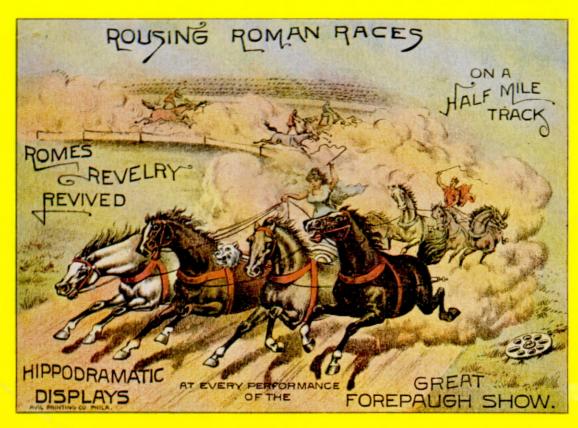
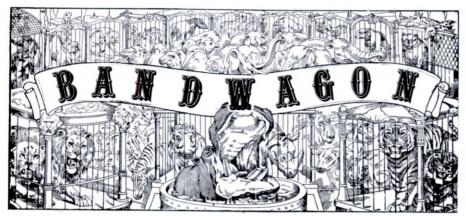
THE BANDWAGON

JULY AUGUST 1973







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THIS MONTH'S COVER

A popular form of advertising in the late 19th century was picture cards. They were distributed in "store bought" parcels, or in mail order catalogues. They were saved much the way baseball cards are today; hence the endless number of them that turn up in antique stores.

Like other industries, the circus succumbed to this fad. Starting in the early 1870's until the beginning of World War I many showmen used these cards to promote their attractions. There were many types of circus picture cards. One type, for example, had an illustration for Montgomery Queen's Great Show on the front, and an ad for Merchant's Gargling Oil on the back. In another variety, the circus and a local business combined their advertising as did the Barnum show and J. A. Godfey, "the tireless clothier," of Waterbury, Connecticut in the 1880's.

A third variation was for the show to advertise on both sides of the card. The backs of the two Adam Forepaugh cards shown on this month's cover extol the virtues of Adam Forepaugh, Jr., who the

show's press agent called "A chip off the old block," and the circus's hippodrome in which a "beautiful bevy of dashing female jockeys" plied their trade for the edification of 19th century male circus fans. Both these colorful cards were published in the mid-1880's by the Avil Printing Company of Philadelphia, and are now part of the Pfening collection.

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I want to complete my collection and need the following circus programs: Ringling-Barnum 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923 and 1926.

Cole Brothers 1936, 1938 and 1941. Also I need old letterheads. If you have any of these items you wish to sell please write to:

Robert M. Immel, DDS 1505 Lincoln Way West Massillon, Ohio 44646

THE DISASTROUS HAGENBECK-WALLACE CIRCUS TRAIN WRECK OF 1918

HOW? WHAT HAPPENED? WHERE?



8 A.M. June 22nd. 1918, THE MICHIGAN CENTRAL RAILROAD TROOP TRAIN SPECIAL *8485, IVANHOE, INDIANA

"NO PERFORMANCES TODAY"

by Warren A. Reeder, Jr.

An account of the events leading up to, during and following the train wreck of the Hagenbeck-Wallace Circus train and a Government Troop Train at Ivanhoe (Tower), Indiana, 4 a.m., June 22, 1918. 137 pages, over 100 photos drastically present this historic event.

- ". . . graphically described" . . . Indiana History Bulletin
- "Tragedy makes a curious story . . . monumental task of reconstructing a gruesome railroad calamity" . . . South Bend Tribune (Ind.)
- "Disaster . . . during that marvelous age of the great circuses . . . worst disaster in total deaths for 47 years . . ." Washington Times Herald (Ind.)
- ". . . well illustrated and quite readable account . . . interesting peek into circus history . . ." Indiana Magazine of History
- "... more information (of fact) than has ever been amassed on this subject before ... nice piece of documentation" K. H. Hartisch, Peru, Indiana
- "... interesting reading and well done" Charles E. Ballard, Peru, Indiana (son of Ed Ballard, owner of the circus)

 "... perfectly fascinating account of a most dramatic incident ... a powerful job of research ... caught the spirit of this terrible accident ... very valuable book on the Hagenbeck-Wallace Circus wreck" E. B. Long, University of Wyoming, research assistant to author Bruce Catton.
- "... an excellent job of the writing of a poignant chapter of American history" David E. Lilienthal, first head, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, cub reporter at the wreck scene.
- "... took me way, way back" Kae Ewing, daughter, Dr. Oberlin, physician on rescue team at Ivanhoe and St. Margaret's Hospital, Hammond
- ". . . detail . . . complete story . . . Oscar would have loved it" Mrs. Oscar Timm, widow, circus train brakeman

LIMITED EDITION \$4.50 Per Copy

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| Address | | |
| City | State Zip | |



A Thousand Footnotes to History

CIRCUS WORLD MUSEUM PRESENTS THE PAPERS OF WILLIAM P. HALL

TOM WIEDEMANN

Tom Wiedemann garnered a reputation for operating some of the toughest shows on the road, with a particular bow to the bullet-ridden Kit Carson's Wild West Show. He also proved to be one of the best — or most continuous — customers of William P. Hall's circus supply center. Elements of both points come forth in the correspondence between Wiedemann and Hall.

By 1910 Wiedemann had operated a circus under his own name for about three seasons, and late that year he bought six cars and seven wagons from the M. L. Clark show. Then he advertised that he wanted a stock car and more wagons.

That's when he heard from Hall; Diamond Billy came into the picture with his pitch - 'til - you - win philosophy for circus owners.

In March, 1911, Wiedemann was writing to Hall to report that "the wagons arrived yesterday." He said they could wait until April to ship the horses and elephants, and By Tom Parkinson For The Circus World Museum

PART 4

Tom still needed more horses and ponies. (TFW-WPH 3/15/11). This agrees with *Billboard* reports that Hall sold flats, wagons and elephants to Wiedemann at this time.

Wiedemann's next letter was from the Kit Carson horse opera but he used a letterhead hailing the Wiedemann Bros. Greatest Melodrama, "Custer's Last Charge," Playing Only First Class Theaters. In it he told Hall he would "keep the two elephants at \$50 per week" except that Hall was to pay the keeper. "We killed the other elephant here yesterday...couldn't trade him...so mean." Wiedemann wrote from Jetmore, Kan. The Billboard indicates there were two shipments of elephants. This letter re-

The sleepers of the Kit Carson Buffalo Ranch Wild West are shown on a siding in a photo never before published. Harold Dunn Collection.

The Wiedemann's Big American Shows 1911 letterhead is printed with title and Custer's Last Charge in red, Cosmopolitan Rough Riders in gold and the rest in dark blue. Circus World Museum Collection.

ports arrival of the second and execution of the first. (TFW-WPH 5/2/11).

As the season got underway. Wiedemann sent Hall \$545, representing \$500 as a first payment on the horses and \$50 rent on the elephants, less \$5 to the keeper. This still was from the Kit Carson show but it was on an old letterhead of the Wiedemann Bros. Big American Shows & Custer's Last Charge, which listed Wiedemann as owner and J. C. Donahue as manager. Years later Donahue would become agent for the Hagenbeck-Wallace show and advance executive for Ringling-Barnum. (TFW-WPH 5/15/11). The next \$45 payment came with a letter written on Santa Fe Railroad note paper and reporting that business was



"tip top." (TFW-WPH 5/22/11).

From the Ipswich, S. D., and his Kit Carson grift show, Wiedemann reported a change. Business was rotten because of the poor crops. Even so, he said the show had not had a losing week yet in the season. Wiedemann sent his third \$500 payment on horses and \$45 rent on elephants. And he asked Hall what to do in regard to the elephant, Babe. (TFW-WPH 7/18/11).

With the next month's \$45, he asked again about Babe and declared "she's worthless." The elephant had not been able to make parade since June because of a bad leg and toe. (TFW-WPH 7/27/11). It was not until September that the problem seems to have been resolved. Then he wrote that "I sent Babe home September 20" and "I deadheaded that flat car back." He also sent the \$45. (TFW-WPH 9/23/11).

Wiedemann indicated impatience with Hall from time to time, particularly because Hall had not answered letters, a complaint echoed by others. One such tough-talking letter came from the Kit Carson winter quarters, asking why Hall had not replied to a letter. "I've sent full payment and sent elephants home" but have received no word, although the checks had been cancelled, Wiedemann said.

But for all the tough talk and the formal "Dear Sir," Wiedemann reverted to the kindly customer-creditor: "I want a flat, stock car, ten or 15 lengths of reserves, 20 band uniforms, a steam calliope and eight draft horses," he wrote. And then he wished Hall a Merry Christmas. (TFW-WPH 12/23/11). If they corresponded in 1912, none of the letters survived.

Then came 1913. On New Year's Day out of his Harrisburg, Ill., quarters, Tom Wiedemann raised ned. "The harness arrived . . . I find it is just common farm harness and is of absolutely no value to me . . . You will remember you represented this to be good harness, claiming it was worth \$40 a set." (TFW-WPH 1/1/13).

Ten days later he said he was returning the harness and at that time he also wanted to adjust "the Frisco matter." While this may have referred to the Frisco railroad, there is no sign of what it involved. Until this point, Wiedemann had started his letters with "Dear Sir," but now he felt acquainted enough to write "Friend Hall." TFW-WPH (1/10/14). Even so, the harness matter was their only business in 1913 if the Hall Papers are any indication.

By the end of 1914, Wiedemann's Kit Carson show was in its death throes. It closed in Kentucky and was shipped to Cincinnati. From there, Wiedemann wrote to Hall, enclosing an inventory of the show and saying a "Mr. Lowe, of Cincinnati... informed me they would be willing to take your note for six months if you were really in earnest about letting me have the money... Should I raise the money, I will ship the show to Harrisburg, a better place to get out of in the spring." (TFW-WPH 11/2/14). While Hall proved to be in earnest, it wasn't on behalf of the Kit Carson title. That outfit went into bankruptcy



5

Sleeper

Advance Car 65 ft.

The fancy lettering of the Carson 1913 baggage wagons is shown here with the blacksmith. Another "new" photo from the Harold Dunn Collection.

in that month and in March it was sold piecemeal. The sale later was set aside and duplicated; still it was the last of Kit Carson's Wild West.

LIST OF SHOW PROPERTY KIT CARSON SHOWS

| RAII | CARS: | | |
|------|---------|--------|--|
| #35 | Sleeper | 66 ft. | |
| #73 | Sleeper | 73 ft. | |
| #18 | Sleeper | 65 ft. | |
| #30 | Sleeper | 63 ft. | |
| #50 | Sleeper | 60 ft. | |

This photo of the Carson 1913 band is the third "new" photo recently located by Harold Dunn.

| #7 | Stock | 50 ft. | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--------|--|
| #60 | Elephant | 50 ft. | |
| #62 | Stock | 62 ft. | |
| #33 | Baggage | 76 ft. | |
| #24 | Flat | 60 ft. | |
| #20 | Flat | 54 ft. | |
| #40 | Flat | 62 ft. | |
| #14 | Flat | 60 ft. | |
| #28 | Flat | 62 ft. | |
| #15 | Flat | 60 ft. | |
| #8 | Flat | 60 ft. | |
| WAC | GONS: | | |
| #75 | Canvas Wagon | | |
| #50 | Plank Wagon | | |
| #45 | Plank Wagon | | |
| #55 | Jack Wagon | | |
| #55 | Jack Wagon — is also Parade Wagon | | |
| #70 | Stake & Chain | | |
| #25 | Chandelier | | |
| #100 Pole Wagon | | | |
| | | | |

60 ft





#60 Stringer

#30 Side Show

#65 Menagerie Canvas

#4 Cook House

#2 Cook House

#35 Stable

— Water Wagon

Calliope

#44 Tableau Side Show Trunks

#74 Tableau Dressing Room Trunks

#24 Tableau Ammunation and Trunks

#72 Tableau Candy Stands

#53 Tableau Pocahontas Spectacle

#66 Tableau Pit Show and Stands

- Stage Coach

Prairie Schooner

Private Buggy

- Ticket Wagon

HORSES:

36 Head Baggage Horses

5 Mules

1 Menage Mare

1 High Jumping Horse

8 Driving Horses

34 Saddle Horses

3 Buffalo

CANVAS:

One 110 ft. R.T. Four 40 ft. M.P.

One 75 ft. R.T. Two 45 ft. M.P.

One 60 ft. R.T. Two 30 ft. M.P.

One Dressing Top 30 x 60

(Above Canvas used one Season is in good condition, will easily run another Season.)

COOK HOUSE:

Complete Dishes, 5 Stoves, Tent Tables Cooking Utensils etc.

20 Set Harness and Collars.

2 Hansom Cabs and Harness

30 Length 10 Tier Blue Seats

16 Length 7 Tier Reserved Seats

Complete Set new Milburn Lights only used one month

Band Uniforms for Big Show and Side Show Bands.

Uniforms for Drivers and Property Men. Miscellaneous:

Stakes - Rigging - Blacksmith Forge and Tools - Sledges etc.

But not the last of Tom Wiedeman. He was right back to Hall for a fresh start.

The Buffalo Ranch 1914 letterhead has Indian spears in full color, as is the buffalo. Buffalo Ranch is red, outlined in black, with green block as background. Circus World Museum Collection.

Even before the Cincinnati sale of March 20, Wiedemann was writing from Marion, Ind., about his new Barton & Bailey Circus.

"I have arranged to raise some money the latter part of this week and will send you then the amount I promised to pay on property bought," he said. Wiedemann would come to Lancaster and stay until the new show opened. (TFW-WPH 3/15/15). The resulting Barton & Bailey has been called the biggest show that ever came out of the Hall farm.

After that, however, Hall's correspondence was, not with Wiedemann, but with Mr. and Mrs. John A. Barton and Mike Kahn, who were Tom's new partners in Barton & Bailey Circus. Its stormy tour is outlined in the two more letters pertaining to this outfit.

An official of the Barton & Bailey's World Celebrated Shows is pictured with a one sheet lithograph on the show in 1915. Harold Dunn Collection.

One was signed "Mr. and Mrs. Barton" and was written by Mrs. Barton, wife of the partner and privilege manager:

"Just a few lines to say we are still going with the same old bunch. The show is doing fine. I called Mr. Higbee [the Lancaster banker through whom Hall did business] up by long distance and told him to come on first train Thursday as the show is doing its best business and wanted him here to get the money. So he came and got it, and we have done a nice business every day. Yesterday got near 4 hundred. Today, Sunday, we are doing a fair business, and we pay all today, actors and working men.

"I wish it was so Mr. Higbee could stay with the show and take every dollar and pay up you and everyone."

Mrs. Barton didn't let spelling slow down her condemnation of Wiedemann:

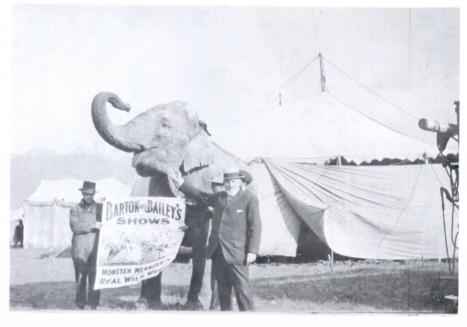
"I do not see how we are going to do business with Wiedemann, for he is one ofel bad man and will not get rid of one of that tuff gang.

"Mr. Kahn said to me today we had better arrange to buy him [Wiedemann] out, but he has nothing to buy, but we must arrange in some way to get him out some way and then Kahn and John can make good. The show draws the people and will make good. Wiedemann does not ever take proper care of the advance. Will enclose a letter John gave me to send you.

"Wish you and your family were here. We have got the whole private car. You can have it if you want to come on for a few weeks . . ." (Mrs. Barton - WPH 6/6/15).

But the show didn't have that kind of time to offer. The last letter came from Mike Kahn and was sent to "Friend W. P. Hall" from Driscoll, S. D. He used plain paper, but a Barton & Bailey envelope:

"I suppose you are discouraged because we are not living up to our agreements . . . We did fine all this week. We were so far behind with paper company and had to make good or get no more paper. That



taken care of now and with prospects ahead in good country, I think within the next two weeks we can take care of a big chunk of what we owe you."

Kahn said the elephants and horses were o'cay and continued:

"Mr. Wiedemann is doing fine now. Tends strictly to business and turns every penny in to treasurer." They had a new treasurer by then and Kahn said:

"The other fellow has no handling of any money now, and his better half is shorn of all power. That's what makes her so sore, because she cannot reap her harvest on the Front Gate. I am taking care of that now."

One wonders if Kahn meant he was reaping his own harvest and if he was referring to Mrs. Barton or to some other wife on the show. It may have been one of those three- or four-way tussles for control of a circus.

"I am satisfied now that with a little luck we can pay 100 cents on the dollar and have some left. Don't take any stock in what she writes . . . Your loyal friend, M. Kahn." (MK-WPH 6/19/15).

For all that hope and confidence, the show couldn't make it. Hall took it over later that month and brought it back to Lancaster, another circus disaster. Barton & Bailey was another cause for Hall to repeat his usual words of cheer for circus investors: "You'll be back."

And it was the last time around for the "tuff" and "ofel" Tom Wiedemann.

FRED BUCHANAN

In the rather limited knowledge of William P. Hall's operations, no one figured more prominently than Fred Buchanan, and now the Hall Papers add to that position. This Buchanan correspondence gives a good look into the character that inspired the circus novel, *Gus, the Great,* and which for the most part has been a silent figure in documented circus history. Buchanan didn't publish his route and hadn't left a lot of printed matter or documents about his shows. So the Hall Papers are all the more interesting.

Fred Buchanan's letters to Hall provide

MONSTROUS MENAGERIE

BOYAL HIBBODBOME

Barton & Bailey's

WORLD'S CELEBRATED SHOWS

TRAINED WILD ANIMALS

REAL WILD WEST

The Barton & Bailey 1915 letterhead is printed in dark blue, on white paper. Circus World Museum Collection.

some of the best quotations coming from any of the showmen represented. He is both an irate customer and a contrite debtor. While other letters in the Papers indicate Buchanan was something less than loved by his peers, none of that appears in his own correspondence, of course, and he comes off as a likeable enough guy.

In April, 1909, Buchanan was opening his Yankee Robinson Circus, which had just converted from wagons to rails at midseason, 1908. He told Hall to make out the papers for the horses which the show was buying from Hall. Then he said he had "the best 15-car show you ever saw."

"The performance may not be very enlightening to the world, but it will get the money just the same," he wrote. And maybe a number of circus owners have held that opinion. He went on to say he hoped there would be no delay in shipping the horses. (FB-WPH 4/7/09).

Writing for Buchanan, Treasurer A. E. Root said in early season that he was sending "\$50 on the elephant deal" and said "business remains great." (AER-WPH 5/11/09). In late season he sent "\$200 for four weeks' salary for Tony and Pony." (AER-WPH 10/16/09).

Ten days later Buchanan wrote from home in Iowa on a letterhead from his Majestic Theater in Des Moines that he

A former Forepaugh-Sells cage is shown in a 1913 parade of the Yankee Robinson Shows. Pfening Collection.

had been ill and off the show, which would close November 6.

"We have had a very bad season south," he said, but he planned to come to Lancaster to make settlement on the year and to talk about more property for next season. (FB-WPH 10/27/09).

The only 1910 piece is Treasurer Vernon Reaver's note with a payment of "\$100 as the eighth installment on Mr. Buchanan's elephant account." (VR-WPH 6/27/10).

The single 1911 letter transmitted \$225 for three weeks' payment on elephants. This letter seeks the return to an earlier contract. Buchanan wanted to pay \$100 weeklv again, "... and if I do not pay you [the] balance, they go back [to you] as usual..." Business if off, he reported.

"We are talking hard times now and I would not be surprised to see hard times before long . . ." he wrote. Then the tough Fred Buchanan humbled himself in a plea to Hall for easy terms. (FB-WPH 5/22/11).

Those hard times did come and they paid a visitation to Buchanan. He lost his show in 1913. Nearly every circus was having trouble at that period. William P. Hall acquired the Yank show through repossession or purchase and then sold or leased to Buchanan the makings of a smaller outfit, probably 12 cars. (Billboard 12/6/13). This seems to be the time that Hall got the Yankee Robinson bill car that became his office.

In the spring with his new outfit, Buchanan's spirits ran high when he wrote to Hall about opening his 1914 season. "The show is a dandy, pleased the people just as much as the big one. At least, many of them said it was better than last season," Buchanan declared.

"Now for the heart-breaker. Whitey Likens clipped the manes of the big blacks while I was downtown," he lamented. Furthermore, "the elephant is no good." (FB-WPH 4/25/14).

Two days later he wrote that the seals had arrived. "About the elephant, glad to hear the news," he wrote. So Hall seems to have promised improvement in that situation. Notice, too, that mail services was so good that he could write a letter on the 25th, then have a reply and write his second one by the 27th. He had more news to report that day and some more revealing commentary:

"We had rain here all day — very bad storms — but the chumps came down in the storm and gave us the nut. There is





nothing to it; this is the show. Right size. Right nut and makes money every day."

In a postscript Buchanan added details: "I cleaned up \$271 on the day here in the heaviest rainy day I ever saw. Thought I was going to blow . . . We are having hell tonight getting off the lot." (FB-WPH 4/27/14).

Before opening the 1915 tour, Buchanan wrote to Hall that he would want six horses. The show was all painted and the cars had been rebuilt by the Des Moines Union Railroad's shops. Buchanan told Hall to relay word to Barton & Bailey Circus that there were hoof and mouth disease quarantines for in the West. Sells Floto, he reported, had to cancel Texas and Arizona and would ship direct from Denver to California, April 16. Indeed, Floto made that long jump. (FB-WPH 3/12/15).

The William P. Hall Papers are thin for this period, but The *Billboard* of the time tells that for all of his enthusiasm about the smaller show, Buchanan quickly built it back up to a reported 24 or 28 cars. Twenty cars may have been more accurate. In that time he got cars, a leopard-puma act, an ex-Ferari elephant and a lot of other things from Hall.

In 1917 Buchanan amended his letterhead. Until then it had included pictures of Yankee Robinson and his own. Now in World War I times, the Yankee Robinson The 1909 Yankee Robinson Shows paper has title outlined in black on white with a solid red background. Circus World Museum Collection.

likeness gave way to a drawing of Uncle Sam.

Buchanan sent Hall \$500 on the note due and reported business was good. He needed a pushing elephant. "I lost Queen and need one badly for work around here," he said. (FB-WPH 7/1/17).

In a similar but undated letter he sent another \$500, making \$1500 paid in all, he said, and expected to send another \$1,000 in a couple of weeks. But he did want Hall to arrange for the Lancaster bank to carry \$2,500 over. "Business is good but expensive," he wrote. And he still needed that pushing elephant. (FB-WPH 1917). Apparently, it was this \$2500 to which he referred later.

Buchanan had been down to Lancaster before start of the 1918 season. Upon his return he wrote that he had decided to take the five horses — "get the shipment and send Calamity with it." Then he wrote further:

The 1910 Yankee Robinson paper has title in white outlined in black on red background. Faces of P. T. Barnum on left and Buchanan on right are dark brown. Circus World Museum Collection.



"Send back at once the \$2500 in notes on the old elephant deal and make out new notes for the horses," he said. Buchanan apparently had considered taking a calliope which Hall may have priced a little high, but at home Buchanan wrote "I will be unable to load the calliope wagon. So you can still hold out for \$1500."

He also had a few words to say about his journey. "That trip is the worst I ever went through . . . practically 24 hours. You can leave for New York with pleasure but starting for Lancaster is out of the question." He was talking to Hall much more firmly than in the hard times. (FB-WPH 3/27, probably 1918).

His next letter was even tougher, because Hall still had not returned those old notes for \$2500:

"After our conversation last night, I thought of the matter of those notes. I cannot see for the life of me why you don't get them up here and at once. You know this is not way to transact business. Don't let it go any longer. I have always trusted you implicitly and at least you don't want to lose that, but when a man is lax in his business transactions, you naturally have a feeling of looking out.

"I have never entertained a question as to your honesty and would willingly trust you with any proposition, but I don't want my notes hanging around unless they are legitimate. Please see that this matter is attended to before you ship horses here."

Then he tantalized Hall a little by telling him horses were available near quarters and if Hall didn't furnish them, Buchanan could get some anyway.

"Now get those notes up here and get in the collar. And after this when we do business, let us try and be a little more prompt." More strong talk. Then in a more gossipy tone he added a postscript, saying that Rhoda Royal was not going out and therefore Hall might be able to handle an elephant deal for Buchanan. "Look it up," he said. (FB-WPH, 4/22/probably 1918).

Rather typically, the Hall Papers include nothing for the period when things get the most difficult. But in 1920, as other sources tell, Buchanan gave up the Yank show a second time. It is not clear who controlled it. Buchanan may have sold it, but more likely Hall seized it. In either case, the buyers were Mugivan, Bowers and Ballard. They reorganized it at Lancaster and opened there as Howes Great London & Van Amburgh Circus. But these Hall Papers make no mention of all that. Buchanan is next heard from in regard to Palmer Bros. but dropped out of management for a few seasons and seems to have written nothing to Hall.

By 1923 Buchanan was ready to go again. That's when Charles Sparks wrote to Hall that "I see Fred Buchanan is going out again. Guess a man cannot quit this game, and still it is the toughest business on earth." (CS-WPH 1/31/23). Buck called this one World Bros. and got some of the equipment and probably three elephants from Hall. Two of the bulls were the notorious Ding

Dong and Baby Baraboo — Ding and Boo. Some undetermined kind of lawsuit came up in Lancaster and Hall's banker, Higbee, needed Al Langdon, the bull man, to testify. But Buchanan wrote:

"Dear Bill, Say there ain't any way to let Al from here at this time. I have no [other] elephant men on the show and the man I had helping him on my bulls blowed and I am in a bad fix. Anyway you know that if I have not got this act in these big towns my show is ruined, and furthermore, I don't believe we could load my bulls without Al there, as Ding is acting very bad and has sapped several people around the show. We can't get near her, and Boo saps badly also. I had a nigger put out of business with a broken jaw the other night. These elephants cannot be handled by anyone but Al, and he there with both feet when it comes to it. Every time they sap anyone, he gives them punishment, but it don't seem to last long with them. As a matter of fact, I would be afraid to leave them in the car without him here. I know they could not be watered, as no one can get in to them . . . (FB-WPH undated 1923).

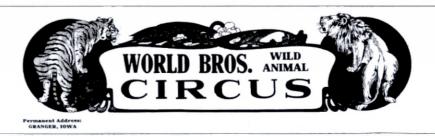
The show owner then suggested that his circus would be playing much closer to Lancaster later and that perhaps he could let Al go for that shorter time. "I know that Higbee can get the case set over for that long," he wrote.

Several remaining letters from Buchanan in the Hall Papers pertain primarily to dealings with "Harvey" — presumably R. M. Harvey, who had the Hippodrome winter show in this period and probably was negotiating with Buchanan about horses and elephants for winter dates.

In 1924, Buchanan said he had been in conference with Harvey who in turn would confer with his Chicago people and they would open at Des Moines. Of his own plans, Buchanan wrote:

"I will be in a better position to know what I am going to do about size, etc. I

Columbia the elephant is shown pushing a cage on the World Bros. Circus in 1923. Pfening Collection.



The 1923 World Bros. paper has animals in black on orange background. The title is black with blue frame. Circus World Museum Collection.

have had a very bad season account of the Mississippi trouble and together with a bad spring I have got to cut the show in expense . . . " He would want Hall to carry \$1,000 over the winter for him. Buchanan would need at least 14 horses on a note. "This is the smallest amount I have ever carried over with you; usually \$4,000 or \$5,000." (FB-WPH 12/20/24). By this time his show title was Robbins Bros.

In a similar letter of 1927, Buchanan wrote that Harvey was due. "Of course, I am not going to do any business with him until I get a lay down, but I don't want to throw this down if there is any chance of getting the money, as I need it after my bad tour of the South." One begins to wonder why Buchanan ever played the South. (FB-WPH, probably 1927).

Third in this series also is undated, but since Robbins got the elephant Vera in 1927, it must have been written after that season. "If conditions should grow worse, I presume I will cut the show down to 15 cars. In that event, of course, I could not use the bulls [which Hall apparently was trying to sell him]. When I bought Vera I was compelled to put on an extra car... This cost me \$60 a day extra transportation...." Buchanan went on to indicate that if Hall would take back Vera there might be room on the show for the act Hall sought to sell now. Then Buchanan added he was about to meet with Harvey. (FB-WPH 11/3/undated).

Things did get bad, of course, and the

correspondence declined. But some other papers survive. One is a bill of sale dated July 24, 1930, at Albion, Ia., and reading, "I have this day sold to P. Hall, of Lancaster, Mo., 1 female hippo."

After that tour, the Robbins show quartered at the Hall Farm instead of its usual Iowa base. Undoubtedly, Hall figured heavily in Buchanan's finances at the time and more so after April 22, as we shall see, when Hall and Buchanan executed a note (that is not in the Papers).

The 1931 season opened on April 27 and on the next day Buchanan and Hall, with Higbee as notary, completed a deal in elephants. Of his ten-herd, Buchanan sold four to Hall. Then Hall immediately leased three others to Buchanan. The documents are in the Hall Papers.

In the deal, Hall acquired Eva, Margaret Tony and Trilby. Buchanan acquired Sadie, Virginia and Elsie. We can only guess the reason to be money; probably Hall paid much-needed cash for the bulls and Buchanan paid less to lease the others. The documents show that he paid Hall \$100 per week or \$3,000 for the season. This was done by a typical agreement in which the bulls would revert to Hall if the payments were not made. The lease-contract for the three and the bill of sale for the four are in the William P. Hall Papers at the Circus World Museum.

By this route and by a note signed April 22, Hall money financed the opening of Robbins Bros. Circus in 1931 out of Lan-

The Forepaugh Lion Bandwagon is pictured in a parade on World Bros. in 1923. Wilson Collection.









In 1925 Buchanan purchased a number of the wagons from Frank Spellman's U. S. Motorized Circus. The South American wagon is shown here in a Robbins Bros. parade. Pfening Collection.

caster. Through the April 22 note, Hall held a mortgage on the show for that depression season, and indeed when the show folded, Hall repossessed it and ordered it back to Lancaster. On that trip the infamous redlighting incident took place.

In that season Sam B. Dill also was using a Robbins Circus title on his truck show. In writing to William P. Hall, Dill said, "Fred Buchanan also got some bad publicity with his show and it is reflecting on this title." (SBD-WPH 9/29/31). The bad publicity was the result of red-lighting workmen in the South.

The final Buchanan items in the collection is the printed bulletin by which William P. Hall offered for sale the horses and equipment of Robbins Bros. Circus. It read in part:

"Notice is given that because of default in the payment of the note executed by Fred Buchanan and Nellie Buchanan, his wife, dated April 22, 1931 . . . the undersigned mortgagee . . . has repossessed the property described and will on Saturday.

Buchanan purchased the Two-Hemisphere bandwagon from Ringling-Barnum. A lone Indian chief rides the famous wagon in a Robbins parade. Pfening Collection.

February 6, 1932 . . . sell publicly to the highest bidder for cash in hand at my barns two blocks north of the public square in Lancaster, Mo., . . . all the personal property forming the show property operated under the title of Robbins Bros. Shows . . ."

The property for sale included:

Forty-six baggage horses; 20 ring horses; 11 ponies; six camels and dromedaries; six elephants (Columbia, Vera, Blanche, Katie, Jennie and Babe); 15 assorted menagerie animals; generators, bedding for 350 people, harness, saddles, blacksmith shop, wardrobe, side show, tools, stakes, poles, cookhouse, etc.; tents, including the big top (a 110 with two 40s and one 50); wagons and railroad cars.

The wagons included a ticket wagon, air calliope, seven cages, a tractor, a Mack truck, 16 baggage wagons, steam calliope, and tableaux wagons named United States, Belgium, Great Britain, Russia and India.

The train counted five flat cars, two stock cars, five coaches and one elephant car. (Notice of Sale, 1932.)

At the sale it was Hall who got the show. There probably were no other bidders, and Hall bid in to protect his loans. Of course, the three elephants on lease reverted to Hall. At the sale, he also acquired the six more that Buchanan had owned.

That was the end of Robbins Bros. Circus. Buchanan went into seclusion in the East. The equipment was idle until acquired by Adkins and Terrell for Cole Bros. Within months after the sale, William P. Hall died.

China was another Spellman wagon that appeared in the Robbins Bros. parades. Pfening Collection.

RHODA ROYAL

Letters came to William P. Hall from Rhoda Royal while the horse trainer was on other shows as well as from his own. The earliest in the Hall collection was on Ringling paper and is reported in the Ringling section of this series.

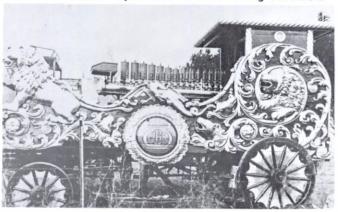
The second came from Sells Floto, where Royal was working. He wrote it, however, on letterhead left over from his own Rhoda Royal two-car circus. He was sending Hall a check for \$270 and reporting that the Floto show was doing well. He also said Muggins, an elephant Royal had purchased from Hall, was doing fine; later the same bull was on the Rhoda Royal Circus. The news from Sells Floto was about the birth of a baby elephant on the show 16 days earlier. (RR-WPH 5/11/12).

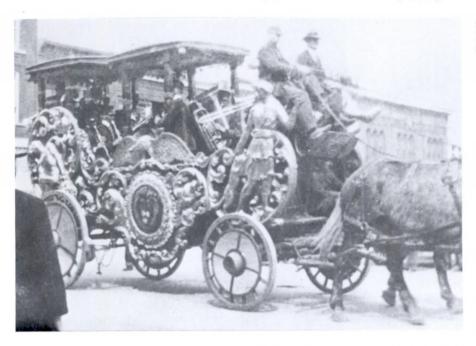
The letters from the Rhoda Royal Circus actually were written by one of the other partners, D. C. Hawn. The 1919 edition was a gilly show on three or four cars and Hawn reported "Your show is making good," thus indicating the equipment came largely from Hall.

"Am going to try to come out as a 15-car

The sides of the Forepaugh Lion bandwagon were mounted on the Young Buffalo steam calliope wagon and was used by Robbins in 1926. Pfening Collection.







show . . . Have you got any wagons, cages, tableaus, calliopes, elephants, 30 dapple greys . . ?" he asked. With Barnum and Ringling combining there could be surplus horses, so Hawn said, "If you happen to get any on Lynch's horses, I would like to get some of them." Tom Lynch was the Barnum boss hostler.

Then hope and sentiment took over with Hawn, the hardened circus veteran: "I hope that I will be some day able to show you that the man started as a pony boy went to the top of the ladder . . ." (DCH-WPH

They did indeed build up a bigger show by buying equipment from Hall. From quarters at Valdosta, Ga., Hawn wrote that the wagons had arrived but that the freight bill was \$1500. He scolded Hall by saying he was sorry Hall had not knocked down the wagons as had been requested, so as to qualify for a lower freight rate. "Please prepay horses and get benefit of low rate,' he continued, "Where are the calliope whistles?" They had been sent separately by express but had not arrived.

Often when customers called Hall on something like the freight rate, or the quality of horses or the discipline of his elephants, they next wrote a letter indicating

The famous Van Amburgh band chariot was a feature of the Rhoda Royal parades. Woodcock Collection.

Hall had answered in kind. They apologized and calmed down. Thus Hawn said, "Thanks for the reassuring wire. That's all right. I'll get by; only the excessive freight on everything has been doubled. . ." (DCH-WPH 2/25/20).

After that season, there were more letters and three are in the Hall Papers. In one, they report that Flat Car 11, moving from Lancaster to Montgomery, "is lost or never started." (DCH-WPH 3/30/21). In the other two, they were seeking more cages to replace those lost in a 1921 wreck. (DCH-WPH 1/12/22; 1/22/22).

Many would-be show owners held sentimental hopes for success such as Hawn had voiced to Hall. But in case after case Hall's repeated caution to them implied impending failure: "You'll be back. You'll be back," he said. The Rhoda Royal Circus fitted that pattern. It folded in financial disaster in 1922; Hawn's hopes were shat-

Rhoda Royal's 1919 letterhead has title in red with illustrations on brown. Circus World Museum Collection.

tered. The equipment came back to William P. Hall so he could sell it again to another new show hopeful.

CAMPBELL, BAILEY & HUTCHINSON

One of the most revealing letters in the entire mass of the William P. Hall Papers at the Circus World Museum was written by William P. (Low Grass) Campbell about his rival and partner, William P. (High Grass) Campbell and their show, Campbell, Bailey & Hutchinson.

There are only four letters involving this show. The first three are from 1920 and Fred Bailey Hutchinson, the third partner. In one, he sends Hall a \$100 payment on the Hall elephants used by the show. Then Hutchinson reports that business had not been good, because of weather and because of not being able to get railroaded into the towns desired.

"Should like to deal for a calliope if you have a good one and we can find train space," Hutchinson added. Campbell, Bailey & Hutchinson used the one-time Walter L. Main steam calliope, but this letter indicates that it was not there as early as May, 1920. (FBH-WPH 5/15/20). Two other letters merely transmit payments for the elephants. It is the fourth one that stands out.

This show first opened in 1920 as part of the post-war rush to get circuses on the road, thus creating a great equipment shortage that had Hall scraping at the bottom in an effort to outfit as many shows as possible. Owners in 1920 and 1921 were High Grass and Hutchinson alone.

One of the other showmen whom Hall solicited in an effort to meet the demand for show property was the other William P. Campbell — Low Grass Campbell who had a two-car show. Hall had offered to buy his elephant and Campbell replied that he did not want to sell just the elephant but that he would sell the whole show for \$15,000. (WPC-WPH 10/13/21).

At this writing I do not know that Hall acquired the two-car show but it seems likely. In any case, Low Grass then was available to join Campbell, Bailey & Hutchinson in 1922.

In 1920 and 1921, High Grass and Hutchinson found business was not good and so several changes were made. The main one was the addition of Low Grass Campbell as a partner. He brought grift with him as part of his deal with someone. And he wrote this letter to Hall:

"Friend Wm. P. Hall

"Just a line to let you know we are still going but we are not doing any business in Illinois. We had a fair day at Canton, about \$800 on that day.

"Joints are working every day but no money to win as they have not got the money to win, the way it looks. The last three days we did not get \$400 on the day all around. Tuesday we got rained out and

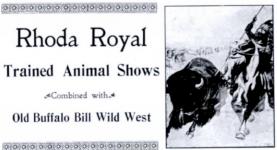


Rhoda Royal

Trained Animal Shows

Old Buffalo Bill Wild West







the farmers are busy and no one in the towns when we get in, just a few kids on the street when the parade goes down town.

"I cut the show down four people today. They was no good anyhow, and we had to have the room. They was friends of High Grass Bill's and he did not like it, but he has to like it now.

"Well, we have been trying to get him to go ahead but he will not leave the show. Just what I thought he would do. So we sent Ed Brennan ahead last night and letting that man Rich go. He was a friend of Bill's also. Old Ed will do all right, I think, as long as Bill will not go ahead.

"I have three in the connection — two paper men and one silver man, and two joints in the kid show and two joints outside on the lot, working for a dime, and three dancing girls. So we are strong on that part of the show, as I am living up to my end of the part that I said I would. They have not said a word about the joints or short as yet. They need the money too had.

"We are having lots of trouble getting working men, as we are putting it up and taking it down with the joint men now until Sunday, and then I am sending the boys into St. Louis for men.

"I will write you right along and let you know how things are going with the big show. Any news from the Patterson shows? With best wishes to you all from us all, yours truly, Wm. Campbell. When In 1920 the Campbell, Bailey & Hutchinson paper had title in black on blue background, Circus Wild West bright red on light red background. The background of illustrations is yellow. Circus World Museum Collection.

you write, address all letters to Mrs. Mabel Campbell, and then I will get them." (WPC-WPH 5/4/22).

There are several high points in that letter, which was written from Waverly, Ill. The first paragraph, of course, points up the tight money situation. The second indicates the partners are not necessarily on the same side. The third refers to the reluctance or refusal on the part of High Grass Campbell to leave the show and go out ahead as agent. Ed Brennan had been agent for many shows, including early Mugivan outfits.

Paragraph four is the heart of it. Here Low Grass details the extent of his grift operation. He indicates he was put there by an agreement, even one in which Hall may have been a party. And apparently, the agreement did not level with the original partners about grift; if Low Grass expected them to object it could have been only if they had not been told he was bringing grift. The fifth paragraph makes Low Grass look good as the supplier of the

The midway of the Campbell, Bailey & Hutchinson Circus during the 1921 season. Pfening Collection.



labor force that was moving the show. The postscript indicates further rift between partners, since Low Grass fears letters addressed directly to him would be withheld by the others. In all, it makes for one of the most significant letters in the collection.

CAMPBELL BROS.

The Campbells of Fairbury, Neb., were one of the circus families that dealt with William P. Hall in the horse market before he came to circus business in 1905.

Their correspondence includes a 1904 letter saying they will want 25 draft and 25 light horses. (CB-WPH 12-12-04) Later, they asked if he had elephants, baggage wagons or tableau wagons for sale. (CB-WPH 1-22-06)

These letters or others resulted in sales. In October, 1906, the Campbell show wrote to the Schuyler County Bank, Hall's Lancaster bank, sending \$1,000 for application on the \$2500 note Hall held against them. They said they would send another \$500 in a week. For the balance, they asked the bank to send another note for \$1000 for 60 days. (CB 10-2-06) In a week they did send that \$500 (CP-WPH 10-8-06) and they promised to send the balance soon.

But either they bought something more over the winter or they didn't get that \$1000 paid, because in January, 1907, the bank sent them notice of \$1104.80 as the balance due to Hall. The Campbells asked for a new note payable in June, 1907. (CB-WPH 1-7-07)

In a month they were telling Hall they wanted to buy a carload of horses—"blocky, not leggy, dark iron grey, weighing 1400 pounds." They also wanted elephants. (CB-WPH 2-1-07)

Al G. Campbell wrote in mid-season 1910 to say that the Campbell show was working east out of California and to ask what towns they should play in Missouri. (AGC-WPH 7-8-10) The final Campbell letter in this correspondence reported that the show was in quarters at Beaumont, Texas. (CB-WPH 12--10-11)

Separate from the Nebraska Campbells and their circus was the two-car Campbell Bros. of William P. Campbell. In 1921 this Campbell told Hall he did not want to sell just his elephant and camel but that he woud sell the entire show for \$15.000. (WPC-WPH 10-13-21) This was linked to the separate Campbell, Bailey & Hutchinson Show.

Yet another exchange involved Ed Campbell and an attempt to sell Lemen Bros. Circus.

ADVISE ADDRESS CHANGES

IN ADVANCE

Please send your change of address to the Editor in Columbus prior to moving. The post office will not forward the Bandwagon, but does send the new address back to us, without the magazine,

with 10¢ postage due.

A NOTE ON GIRAFFES AND THE AMERICAN **MENAGERIE INDUSTRY IN THE 1850'S**

By Fred D. Pfening, III

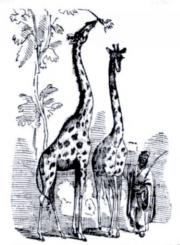
For a number of years I have been gathering data concerning menageries and circuses in the 1840's and 1850's. In the course of this still undefined research, I have uncovered some information that will supplement the work done by Richard W. Flint, Chang Reynolds, and John F. Polacsek on the history of giraffe exhibitions in the United States before the Civil War.

In his "A History of the Giraffe and the Circus," (Bandwagon, January-February, 1973) John F. Polacsek, after questioning a secondary reference, writes: "Even some sources of the times were questionable as on August 4, 1853, at New York two large and beautiful giraffes were imported from Bremen," citing an 1853 Ohio newspaper as his source. Although Polacsek's reluctance in accepting secondary sources is justified. I believe the following will show the veracity of the 1853 report, and will also make a slight dent in the dissemination of show history in the 1850's.

A handbill circulated by P. T. Barnum in mid-October 1853 to induce New Yorkers to attend his American Museum emphasized that he had acquired two living giraffes, "recently arrived from Africa, via Bremen, in the steamer Washington," which correlates with the article in the New Lisbon (Ohio) Patriot of 19 August 1853.1 This handbill gives many details about the giraffes: they are the only ones in America (which may have been true), they had been originally captured for the Royal Menagerie of Cairo, and were sold directly to Barnum by the Viceroy of Egypt (which is not important to circus history except that it indicates the animals came from the Kalahari Desert), and that the male, named Colossus, was seventeen feet high, and the female, named Cleopatra, towered fifteen feet (which according to Crandall's study of wild animals in captivity may be an exaggeration of the heights).

How long these animals were shown at Barnum's Museum is unknown, but in 1854 these two giraffes were exhibited on the Great Broadway Menagerie.2 This was a large show which included, besides the two giraffes, the elephants Hannibal and Queen Ann, and featured Driesbach and Langworthy working the cats. Colossus and Cleopatra must have been the prime attractions of the Great Broadway because when Chess L. Briarmead reminisced about the show twenty-one years later he emphasized the giraffes and remembered that "they were transported in singular looking van, from which they were taken during exhibition."3

This show was part of the outdoor entertainment empire started by James Raymond



On Wednesday, June 21.

Great Broadway Menagerie,

From the city of New York-the most Magnificent and Extensive in the known world, being accompanied by the two

Lately imported from Egypt, by the way of Bremen, for P. T. Parnum, Fsq.

THE Giraffes, "Colossas" and "Cleopatra," Male and Female. The male being 18 feet in height, the female some 16 feet, and are pronounced by competent judges more superior in size and formation than any before seen in Europe cr-America. These interesting animals will be exhibited in connection with the largest collection of living animals ever of fered for inspection—consisting of two Elephants, Lions, Tigers, Zebras, Leopards, Lamas, and every species alreads of prominent imported Animals & Birds, for the small charge of 25 cents.

In this extensive collection of animals will be

Two Living Giraffes, or Cameleopards Male and female Elephants, Hannibal and Queen Ann,—the former weighing 11.320 lbs.

African Panther, Java Tiger, Brazillian Tigers.

2 Asiatic Lions and Lioness, African Lions.

Black African Leopard, Asiatic Leopards.

South Am. Panther, African Zebra.

Royal Tiger and Tigress. American Bears, Poonah Bear of Hinlostan. The Great Russian Bear, Burmese Cow. Lama, or Alpaca. English Stag. Chinese Sheep, G.zel, Monkeys, &c.

and Golden Pheasants, Pegee Owl, &c.,

Together with a large variety of birds, viz:—Macaws, Storks, Crown Cranes, Cockatoos, Parrots, Silver

Also, the Performing Animals of HERR. DRIESBACH, & MR. LANGWORTHY, riz:—Pain of Lions and Lioness, pair of Royal Bengal Tigers, Jaugar, Cougar, Leopards, Tiger, and

Panther.

The Royal Bengal Tigers, are the finest specimens ever exhibited; and the Great Feat of Entering their Dens has never before been performed by man.

MR. LANGWORTHY, will introduce and perform the Elephant Ann, as well as the Ponies and Monkeys. Elephant Hannibal will be introduced with the "Hoo-

Admission only by Ticket.

Will be exhibited at Newbaryport, on WED-NESDAY, June 21st, on the corner of High and Broad streets.

and Noel Waring in the 1830's, which by 1854 was controlled by Raymond's sons-inlaw Chanucey R. Weeks and John J. Drake.4 The equipment and animals on this 1854 show were the combined inventories of 1853 editions of the Raymond and Van Amburgh Menagerie and the Great Broadway Menagerie. In 1853 the Great Broadway (possibly titled Raymond & Co. at some stands) played an Eastern route, while the Raymond and Van Amburgh show played the Western territory, making many dates in Ohio in July.5

In 1854 the Great Broadway show was apparently the only menagerie controlled directly by Weeks and Drake. The Van Amburgh title was leased to Spalding and Rogers who titled their boat show Van Amburgh that year. Spalding and Rogers played the Western river territory which was familiar with the Van Amburgh name.6 The Great Broadway Menagerie played an exclusively Eastern route.7

In 1855, the Raymond interests toured two titles, Raymond and Co.; and Van Amburgh and Den Stone, both in the West.8 The Raymond and Co. Menagerie was the larger; it featured the elephants Hannibal and Queen Ann — but no giraffes. This fact leads me to conclude that the two giraffes on the Great Broadway Menagerie in 1854 were leased from P. T. Barnum, and that in late 1854 or early 1855 he leased one to Spalding and Rogers for their 1854/5 winter season in New Orleans, and the other to Seth B. Howes for his Myers and Madigan Circus.

The beast leased to Spalding and Rogers did not fare well. I quote Charles H. Day:

Spalding and Rogers rented of P. T. Barnum a live giraffe. Up to this time no giraffe had ever been seen in New Orleans or the river countries, and it was expected that this card would make a great fortune on its first tour. The animal arrived safely by steamer at New Orleans, but in taking it from the steamer it made a lunge from the gang-plank into the river and was drowned.9

So much for one of Barnum's giraffes; the surviving one completed the 1855 tour on Myers and Madigan, and in 1856 was again in the Raymond-interests fold. That year the Raymond partners controlled two shows. Driesbach & Co., and Van Amburgh

Advertisement for the Great Broadway Menagerie. The illustration is the same as the one on the 1853 Barnum handbill. From The Herald, Newburyport, Massachusetts 16 June 1854. Pfening Collection. and Co., both in the West. ¹⁰ The Driesbach aggregation had the giraffe, which along with the giant elephant Hannibal, was the main feature of the menagerie. The Van Amburgh unit had no major menagerie attractions.

As noted in the Chang Reynolds article, this giraffe again appeared on the Driesbach show in 1857. When the Driesbach show opened its winter season in Cincinnati on 1 November 1857, the giraffe was part of the entourage, but when the show toured in 1858 as Van Amburgh & Co. (Driesbach retired after the 1857 season) the giraffe was not part of the menagerie.

Tentatively then, the giraffe on the Driesbach show in 1857 was the last exhibited in America until Hyatt Frost imported one in 1863. This six year quiescence had more to do with the effects of the depression of 1857 than the Civil War as is often assumed. The last few years before the Civil War were terrible ones for the outdoor amusement business. In those years few showmen broke even, let alone made enough profit to finance such a large investment as a giraffe, whose life expectancy in captivity had always proved to be short, too short to justify the risk. Hyatt Frost summed up this problem in a letter to W. W. Thomas on 30 July 1863: "We have a cargo of animals just arrived in New York including a living giraffe, only one in America. . . . The giraffe cost a very good farm and is liable to die at anytime. Life is uncertain but we are in the trade and must abide by the consequences."11 Frost was prophetic; this giraffe lived less than a decade. A decade in which one would assume handling techniques were better than in the 1850's.

The data presented in this essay beg two observations in a larger context. First, in light of P. T. Barnum's connection with these two giraffes, and his well known part-

nership with Seth B. Howes and Lewis Lent in the Barnum Caravan show in the early 1850's, Richard E. Conover's sweeping dictum, "Phineas T. Barnum was not in any sense a circus man," 12 while true for Barnum's partnerships after 1871, needs qualification when analyzing his activities in the 1850's.

The second is that the status and economic value of exhibiting a giraffe had declined markedly by the 1850's; in fact, this trend is perceptible even in the short five year span in which the longer-lived of Barnum's giraffes appeared in menageries. When Barnum first owned the pair, he devoted one entire side of a handbill to promoting them, and in 1854 the Great Broadway Menagerie spent almost half a newspaper ad extolling their virtues; in 1857 the Driesbach show made no effort to emphasize the giraffe in its advertising matter, by then the management believed the public would be more impressed that the show had "200 Men and Horses." 13 By 1860 the status animals were the hippopotamus (a newcomer to America that year), and big elephants (a constant status animal), and the outdoor amusement industry - and America - was beginning the shift away from a qualitative value structure to a quantitative one. No longer could a show or attraction be better: it had to be bigger; and since the prohibitive cost and short life expectancy of the giraffe made it impossible in that era to import them in large numbers, the American public wasn't as impressed by one giraffe as they were by "200 Men and Horses," seven elephants, the four mile long parade, or that quantum leap in the qualitative/quantitative shift — the three ring circus. It was this shift from an attraction being good to an attraction being big that sealed the doom of the giraffe as a superstar in the public mythology of the circus.14

FOOTNOTES

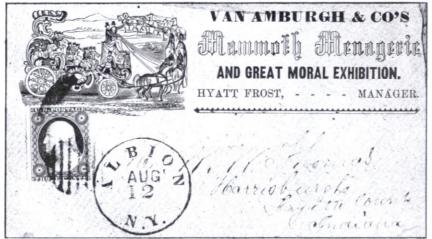
- 1. The Barnum's Museum document is part of the Fred Pfening, Jr. collection, Columbus, Ohio, and is not reproducible; which, in a sense, is fortunate.
- The Herald (Newburyport, Massachusetts), 16 June 1854.
- 3. Chess L. Briarmead, "The American Circus," New York Clipper, 17 April 1875.
- 4. Putman County Courier (Brewster, New York), 25 March 1854. This account notes that Raymond retired from the business a few years before his death in 1854.
- 5. The Connecticut Historical Society has an overnight boarding contract for the Great Broadway Menagerie, Raymond & Co., Props., dated 22 May 1853 for Danielsonville, Connecticut; Richard E. Conover to Fred D. Pfening, III, 29 May 1967; Jackson Standard (Jackson Court House, Ohio), 7 July 1853.
- 6. Spirit of the Times (Ironton, Ohio), 16 May 1854.
- 7. This is one of the few pre-Civil War shows for which we have a complete route. It is preserved in an old scrapebook at the Circus Farm, Fryburg, Maine. The Conover and Pfening collections have typescripts of this route.
- tions have typescripts of this route.

 8. The Democrat (West Union, Ohio), 5 October 1855; Zanesville City Times (Zanesville, Ohio), 14 July 1855. See the Reynolds and Polacsek essays for 1855 Myers and Madigan dates.
- essays for 1855 Myers and Madigan dates.

 9. Charles H. Day, "History of the American Circus and Tented Exhibitions," *Billboard*, 29 December 1906, p. 40.

 10. *Zanesville City Times* (Zanesville, Ohio).
- 10. Zanesville City Times (Zanesville, Ohio), 19 April 1856; Ibid., 14 July 1856; The Democrat (West Union, Ohio), 3 October 1856; St. Clairsville Gazette and Citizen (St. Clairsville, Ohio), 10 July 1856.
- Hyatt Frost to W. W. Thomas, 30 July 1863,
 Frost papers, Conover collection, Xenia, Ohio.
 Riichard E. Conover, Wisconsin's Unique
- 12. Riichard E. Conover, Wisconsin's Unique Heritage (Baraboo, Wisconsin: Circus World Museum, 1967), p. 21.
- Museum, 1967), p. 21.
 13. Jefferson City Inquirer (Jefferson City, Missouri), 18 April 1857. This advertisement was reproduced in Bandwagon, September-October 1965. p. 14.
- 14. I do not mean to infer here that this marked the absolute beginning of this trend. A more striking example is the ten elephants on the Barnum's Caravan show in the early 1850's. In actuality, this shift started the first time a showman exhibited more than one of the same type of exotic animal.

19TH CENTURY CIRCUSANA



The use of decorative envelopes by circuses dates back more than a hundred years. This Van Amburgh envelope was used in the late 1850's or early 1860's, and is printed on yellow stock with black lettering. The wagon in the upper left-hand corner, one of the two Chrysarma chariots built by Stephenson for Raymond and Waring in 1847, traveled on one of the Van Amburgh Menagerie's units from 1856 until it was replaced by the so-called Van Amburgh/Sells Bros. band chariot in 1866. Pfening collection.

A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE HISTORY OF MADISON SQUARE GARDEN AND THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE RINGLINGS IN THE HISTORY AND AIR CONDITIONING OF THE GARDEN.

PART 3

However, as early as 1911 there were again rumors of the loss of Madison Square Garden, James P. Heaton writes that the management had announced in the spring of 1911 that the building was to be sold because it had proved to be a financial failure. The management suggested a concession in the price if the city would buy it, but the city fathers did not take them up on the offer. Many interested persons suggested a great civic and recreational center be built on the site. Mr. William R. Wilcox, chairman of the National Civic Federation, had also suggested, as early as December 1908, that the garden become an industrial, civic and recreational center. At this point Mrs. J. Borden Harriman called a meeting of all interested persons to consider the best use to which the building be put and plans for raising the necessary funds. Committees were actually appointed but nothing came of any of the suggested efforts,41

A news story was circulated in late 1911 that Ringling Brothers Circus had been

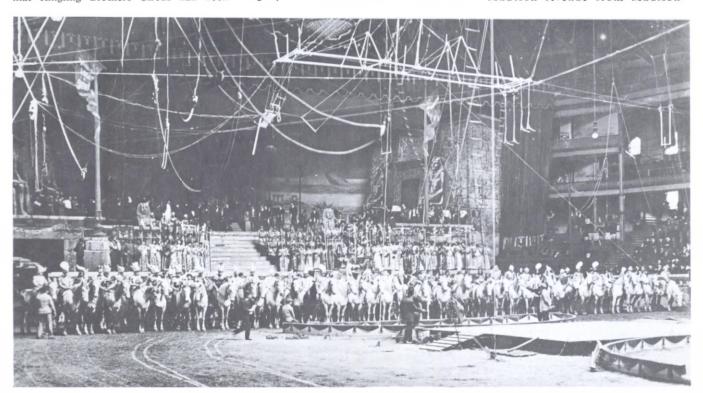
By Dr. Robert James Loeffler

granted the option for the exclusive rights for circus performances, and Buffalo Bill-Pawnee Bill similar rights for Wild West productions in the new and mammoth building that was planned for Forty-second Street and Lexington Avenue, New York. This building was to be built above the terminal of the New York Central Railroad. The terms of the exhibitions were to run from three to five weeks. The building was supposed to take the place of Madison Square Garden.42 Actually, this was a fairly sensible idea because both circuses could have put on an hour and a half performance during the fall and winter months for thousands of Americans who used the great terminal. Likewise, during the spring engagement, thousands more could have used the railroads to travel

The spectacle "Cleopatra" was presented by the Barnum & Bailey circus in 1913. Scenery and props blocked off nearly one complete end of the Garden. This large stage could not be used in the big top on the road. Woodcock Collection.

from the outlying cities in New England and New York directly to the very doors of the circus. Such has been the situation at the Boston Garden and North Station. It seems also that during World War II a motion picture house operated in Grand Central Station and Union Station, Chicago for the benefit of G.I.'s who often waited hours for the departure or arrival of troop trains or trains that carried them home or to other camps across America. I recall the attendance as being excellent at such movies. Certainly in 1911 there were delays and hours of waiting for both the arrival and departure of through trains to the west and south at Grand Central. It seems as though the circuses could have made money and at the same time provided excellent entertainment for travelers. However, nothing was actually done about replacing the building in 1911. But in 1924 New Yorkers again read such articles as this:

Old New Yorkers, and even some comparatively young New Yorkers, will receive a shock as they walk up Madison Avenue from Madison



ERRATUM

An apocalyptic story that circulates around publishing and magazine houses concerns the unfortunate editor who was fired after mis-spelling the name of one of his company's most prestigious authors on a book cover. In Dr. Robert James Loeffler's 'A Re-Examination of the History of Madison Square Garden . . . (Band-Wagon, May-June 1973, pp. 14-23) the Bandwagon editors qualified along with the aforementioned book editor. for journalism's Stupid Mistakes Hall of Fame. Although we did indeed spell Dr. Loeffler's name correctly, we made an extraordinary number of mistakes in laying out the text of his essay.

For the record, then, we made a number of errors in Loeffler's article which rendered much of it incoherent. The trouble began on page 15; the second paragraph in the third column should not exist. Besides the obvious mistake of running the newspaper article "Tearing Down the Old Garden" three times on pages 16 and 17, the New York Times stories were published out of sequence. Page 16 reads correctly for the first two paragraphs on column one. The sentence "Therefore let us examine the record from stories from the New York Times," should be followed by the newspaper article published in the Times on 22 March 1889. The 22 March article appears in the second and third columns of page 16. This article should be followed by the one that appeared in the Times of 15 May 1889. This article is found on page 17, columns one and

two. The now-infamous 8 August 1889 article ("Tearing Down the Old Garden") comes next; anyone closing his eyes and putting his finger down randomly on pages 16 or 17 will locate it. This article is followed by the 16 December 1889 article which begins with the headline "Making Rapid Progress." The paragraph that should proceed the 16 December story is the fourth one on page 18: it begins "The 1890 Madison Square Garden. The correct order, then, for the New York Times article is: 22 March 1889. 15 May 1889. 8 August 1889, and 16 December 1889.

Pages 19 and 20 are printed correctly. The final, perhaps most incredible, errors appear on page 21. Column one is correct down to the sentence. "The engagement covered the period March 26 to April 25, 1891." After this the text should read "On the 14th of May in '90 the following list of officers for the garden was published in the Times and continue until the sentence that . . and Samuel Franch & Son ends". General Managers." These sentences appear near the bottom of column two on page 21. They should be followed by the quotation from the 24 June 1890 Times in column one. The sentences preceding and proceeding the 14 May 1890 story in column two should not exist.

The initial mistake was made by the typesetter, but the burden for the errors must rest on the editorial staff for not adequately scanning the galley proofs. We can only offer our most humble apologies to Dr. Loeffler and to our confused readers, and hope that this erratum is clear enough for the persistent reader to go back and read the article as it should have been published.

Although this 1912 Two Bill newspaper ad states Buffalo Bill's farewell tour the show again played the Garden in 1913 for the final time. Pfening Collection.



Square, in noticing that the colonade in front of the Madison Square Garden in New York City, is being demolished. The entire structure ultimately is to follow suit and be taken down.

On the block bounded by Madison Avenue, Fourth Avenue, Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Streets, now occupied by the doomed building, the New York Life Insurance Company, owners of the property, proposes to erect a magnificent and lofty structure, which will doubtless be one of the great architectural adornments of the metropolis, as the low-lying Madison Square Garden has long been.⁴³

Or they read in the New York World that "The Garden has been a little of everybody's life for thirty years,' and 'That is why New York will miss it, greet it affectionately as it goes.'" The Tribune lamented "... There will be no more Gardens."

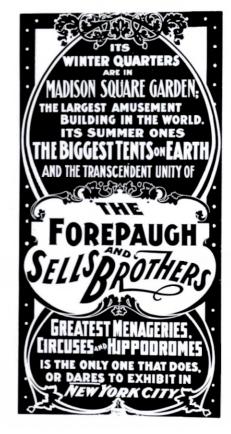
One yearly function has always been permanent. This is the circus. And with the circus and the Garden, new and old, the name of P. T. Barnum stands out in high relief. Other shows came and went — Forepaugh's and Sells, for instance, whose largest elephant, Dick, was destroyed in the Garden basement in 1900.

There were great names in the circuses, still recalled, Annie Oakley, is not forgotten. A series of famous 'leapers', who turned flips from springboards over the backs of half a dozen elephants, were featured a dozen years or so. Diabolo did his leap of death, and Charles Kilpatrick, the one-legged bicyclist, used to leap a twenty-foot gap after scorching down a six-inch incline.

It is fitting that the last blare of gaudy music, the last soaring eyecatching spectacle to show in MSG before the wreckers set to work is the Ringling-Barnum Show. Perhaps a ghostly calliope will start the adding machines jigging some time in the handsome new office building, and sheets of mortuary records will flutter like pennons in a fantom vendor's hand. If that happens P. T. Barnum will understand and chuckle as Jumbo totes him in a golden howdah round the celestial amphitheater.44

However,

Four years before the razing, in 1920, there came out of the West, an ex-cowboy, one George L. Rickard, now known to all the world as 'Tex'. 'Tex' Rickard's eyes are cool, direct, dark but bright. His mouth is firm, his jaw square. As a promoter of Sporting Events and Mass Entertainments, 'Tex'



Rickard has eclipsed every headliner of history. He stands alone. The bigger the job the better he does it.

When the encroaching hands of trade reached out to wrest away the Old Garden, 'Tex' Rickard and John Ringling conceived the New. It seems especially fitting that Mr. Ringling, the successor of P. T. Barnum, originator of the first Garden, should be a directing force in the new and greater project.45

George L. Rickard was born near Kansas City in 1871, but four years later his Dad moved to Texas cattle country and young Rickard soon became an excellent shot with a rifle. As he grew to manhood it seemed as though he developed a natural talent for gambling. This led him at twentyseven to journey to Nome, Alaska, where he and a partner opened a gambling saloon. He later returned to San Francisco, but in 1906 set out for the goldfields in Nevada. In this state he opened the gambling hall known as the Northern where he became interested in the promotion of prize fights and other sporting events.

Tex Rickard would promote anything that had a profit in it for him. Actually, Jack Dempsey helped Rickard amass a fortune because in 1919 he had Dempsey's contract in his pocket. He came to New York from Toledo, Ohio, and leased the Garden. It was John Ringling who agreed to back Tex in this prize fight venture and there is good evidence that if he hadn't, Rickard would have had a difficult time convincing others to assist him, but Ringling liked "the man". The Garden had been losing money and was in sad financial condition at the time.

About this time (1920) the New York legislature repealed an old law which prohibited public boxing matches and Rickard and Ringling immediately saw the potential for the Garden. Money rolled in for Rickard and John Ringling, and Rickard decided that he should have a new arena worthy of the big business that boxing had become. He had until now been renting the Old Garden for \$250,000 a year. Everything that he had earned above that was his own and John Ringling's. But the Old Garden was small and antiquated. Moreover, it was not for sale. The New York Life Insurance Company owned it (by foreclosure of the mortgage) and Rickard's lease expired in 1925. But to build a new Garden would take more money than Rickard or Ringling were willing to risk. But in 1925 Tex Rickard went to Richard Hoyt of the Manhattan investment house of Hayden, Stone & Co., and broached his plan to build a new Garden farther uptown. It was to cost \$5,600,000 for land and the building. Hoyt agreed to form a syndicate with six other financiers (Harvey Gibson, G. H. Walker, E. Roland Harriman, W. Averell Harriman, Edward S. Moore, and Matthew C. Brush) to raise the money Rickard needed. A new Madison Square Garden Corporation was thus formed to take over the old. It was capitalized at \$5,650,000 of which \$500,000



The Spirit of the Plains, the Life of the Ranch, the Perils of the Frontier, and the Romance of Old Mexico Brought to Broadway

Admission 25 & 50c Best Reserved Seats, Admission 25 & 50c Best Reserved Seats, With Seat, With Seat, St. 60, \$1.60, \$1.50.

Pop. Price Mats. Best Seats, 25c to \$1
Box Seats, Afts., \$1.50; Nights, \$2.50.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN BOX OFFICE
OPENS MONDAY, APRIL 20, AT 9 A. M.

Branch Offices (same prices as at Madison Sq. Garden) John Wanamaker's Store, Lehigh Valley Ticket Office, 1460 Broadway; N. Y. Central Ticket Office, 121 W. 125th St., and Abraham & Straus, Brooklyn.

Big Illuminated Wild West Str. Parade Monday Eve., April 20.

was raised through the newly formed Madison Square Garden Club. John Ringling became Chairman of the Board of Directors; George L. Rickard, President (and he took a twenty year contract to manage the arena at a salary of \$30,000 a year); William

The Miller Bros. 101 Ranch Real Wild West played the Garden in 1914, filling the date the Buffalo Bill had used in prior years. Pfening Collection.

Carey, Vice President and Treasurer (William F. Carey & Co., supervised the building of the new Garden in 1925); Col. J. S. Hammond, Vice President (Hammond convinced Rickard of and arranged for hockey playing in the garden). The Board of Directors included John W. Allen, Matthew C. Brush, Charles Ringling, and Kermit Roosevelt. Hoyt succeeded John Ringling as Board Chairman in 1928. Rickard died in 1929. T. Henry French was appointed General Manager of the Garden in 1925. The new Garden extended three hundred seventy-five feet along Eighth Avenue from Forty-ninth to Fiftieth Street, New York City; it was designed by Mr. Charles W. Lamb, of New York, a genial genius of design.46

On November 25, 1925, the new Garden hosted a six-day bicycle race. The New York Herald announced it as follows: "All Nations Entered in Six-Day Bicycle Race. Race will Begin in the New Madison Square Garden Sunday Night."

However, it officially opened on Tuesday, December 15, 1925, with a thrilling hockey match between the Americans and the Montreal Canadians.

Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey Combined Shows opened on March 31, 1926, to a capacity audience. Never before did a circus audience enjoy a performance more than in the new MADISON SOUARE GARDEN. The circus has played the Garden continuously from 1926 to the present.

The circus is a rest for all Garden employees, for the circus takes over the whole building. Their contract

In 1917 The Great American Circus played the Garden just ahead of the Barnum & Bailey opening on March 29. Pfening Collection.





hoofs dig into the concrete floor too easily. The superintendent, James McNally, who was appointed back in 1897 has his permanent stock of selected soil, the cream of fifty excavations around Manhattan Island. When not in use it is stored on a lot at Fifty-first Street and Twelfth Avenue and it comes to 135 truckloads to move it back and forth between the stock pile and the Garden. 48 McNally pays \$600.00 a year for storage space and pays out \$2500.00 each time it is hauled into the Garden.

Superintendent McNally is proud of the Garden; as an achievement in engineering, it is well-nigh perfect. Only two major defects have been found in it. John Ringling, although he was Tex Rickard's original backer when the Garden was built, and though his circus includes some of the most petted performers in the show business, forgot to see about adequate space was provided for dressing rooms. And worse than that: he allowed the entrances into the arena to be built so low that his own elephants could not lumber through them. For the lack of dressing rooms there is no remedy. But McNally now has two sections of seats over the entrances that can be raised or lowered. They are to admit elephants.49

The 1925 Madison Square Garden was the first great building of its kind to be completely equipped with "manufactured weather," to make "everyday a good day" within its walls, independent of season or occasion. The air-conditioning system was designed by Dr. Willis Carrier and his associates at Carrier Engineering Corporation.

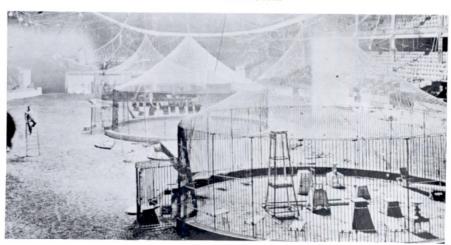
From statements made previously, John and Charles Ringling had a direct and active hand in the construction of the 1925 garden, and in providing comfort at all seasons for circus and other patrons. Ingels states "Rickard and John Ringling hoped to create the illusion of a garden, not with a roofless building or sliding roof but by conditioning the air." 50 Ingels further relates that in 1948

Three wild animal arenas were used by the Ringling-Barnum circus in the Garden in 1923. Circus World Museum Collection.

This newspaper ad announces the opening of the combined shows in the Garden for the first time in 1919. Pfening Collection.

specifies that they must have it in the same condition in which they found it. Each actor has charge of his own apparatus, and sees that it is carried away; two hundred men left behind to clean up the debris.⁴⁷

Every time there is a horse show or a rodeo or a circus the arena takes a floor of earth, some 1000 square yards or 650 tons, six inches deep. The soil must be good; clay soil won't do because it hardens like concrete; sandy soil won't do, because it dries and dry sand is terrible for horses and elephants to cavort on and the horse's





THE NEW MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY NEW YORK HOME OF THE RINGLING BROS AND BARNUM & BAILEY COMBINED CIRCUS



A 24 sheet litho of Clyde Beatty was hung over the Eighth Avenue entrance to the Garden in 1933. Harold Dunn Collection

This drawing of the 1925 Madison Square Garden appeared in the courier booklet issued by Ringling Barnum in 1929. Pfening Collection.

Dr. Carrier recalled the negotiations between Rickard and Ringling:

We did not have much trouble convincing them that we should have the contract for the air-conditioning system. It was a different matter when it came to using our refrigeration machine to freeze the ice for the skating rink. Tex had heard the disparaging remarks made by our competitors about our centrifugals not being applicable for low temperatures. He and his associates came out to our plant to check for themselves - to see our experimental machine making ice. We did not have it down to freezing when the visitors arrived, so I took them into the office for a conference while we continued to try to bring down the temperature. We found the steam ejec-

The mule faced woman from the Ringling-Barnum side show is pictured with giraffes in the basement menagerie of the Garden in 1930. Eddie Jackson Collection.



tor purge had failed, fixed it, and were freezing ice by the time the conference ended.⁵¹

No one can ever deny that John Ringling was not only a great showman but that he possessed a keen and alert mind and was ever watchful for new advancements that would not only benefit his circus empire but the entire citizenry. It is interesting to speculate that John Ringling might have asked Willis Carrier to devise ways and means of air-conditioning his Big Top in the 1920's but the financial crash came and soon afterwards he lost control of his many circuses.

In respect to the mechanical refrigeration of the Garden, the writer received the following data from Mr. Logan L. Lewis (Carrier Corporation):

This Kelty photo shows the opening spec of Ringling Barnum in Madison Square Garden in 1931. Clyde Beatty is standing on the stage in the center. Pfening Collection.

In a letter dated 2-20-25, J. I. Lyle, Treasurer and General Manager of Carrier Engineering Corporation, quoted Thomas W. Lamb, Inc. (a Mr. Hoight) a price of \$128,000. This letter is almost six pages long and provides an excellent description of the three centrifugal machines — plus a clear statement of capacity, (a) 800 tons in chilling water to 47°F for air conditioning, (b) 284 tons in chilling brine to 11°F for freezing the ice, or (c) 237 tons at 5°F . . .

The contract was awarded at a . . . MEETING, HELD IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN TOWER (i.e., the preceding Garden) on FEBRU-ARY 24th, '25th' — attended by Rickard, Hammond, Funk, Sessler, and Lyle. Carrier was \$20,000 high. Rick-



ard offered to split the difference. Lyle offered to take for \$120,000 and Rickard accepted.

(It is important to note that this was a 10% premium for machines that were unproven for the specific duty.)

The original minutes were probably written by J. A. Sessler, Engineer for the Madison Square Garden Corporation, inasmuch as he was instructed to have a formal contract prepared and submitted for signatures. (Our several copies of the minutes are typed on a kind of paper used by C.E.C.). This contract was between the Madison Square Garden Corporation and C.E.C.

The fight which preceded the award had been a bitter one — primarily between Carrier and the old line refrigerating companies and with very few holds barred on their part. This centrifugal was an invader. It might have a place in the softer duty of air conditioning but not for freezing ice. That was their business and nobody elses.

All was serene until March 25th (1925) when D. D. Kimball (Consulting Engineer for the Garden and a good friend of ours) penned a note of warning as follows:

The Mayflower Washington, D. C. "Wednesday"

My dear Lyle

Hoight of Lamb's office 'phoned me here this noon that a man named Smith (I think) of the DeLaVerne Co. (I believe) through some of the Shareholders of the Garden was trying to get Mr. Carey (one of the principal factors of the new Garden) to upset the refrigerating contract. He wanted me back at once but I can't see what I would be good for on this. I told him to get into touch with you at once. to get Horne - have him see your machine and have him know that it would freeze the ice. The intimation was that your machine would not positively and continuously maintain the necessary vacuum.

I had yesterday told Hoight that this was in the air and that if it came you demanded to be present. I suppose he proposes to hold the meeting on Friday when I expect to get back.

I am writing Hoight by this mail.

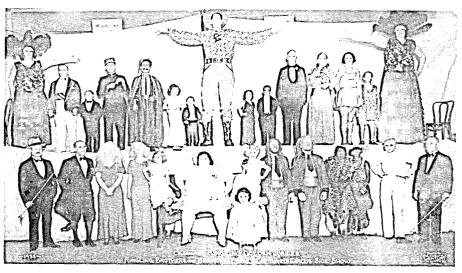
- Get busy and
- 1. See Hoight
 2. See Rickard
- 3. Get Horne to *know* that you can make good and to tell them so.

'In haste

DDK

Lewis continued by writing that:

When Lyle learned that Smith was to be given a hearing by the contract-awarding group, he pulled a rather unusual stunt in demanding the right to be present. And — for some reason, he took me along. I've forgotten why but I do remember that while the



The side show personnel of 1933 are shown in the basement of the Garden in this Kelty photo. Pfening Collection.

"show" was a very short one, it was exceedingly good.

Smith opened with a prediction of abysmal failure and based his entire case on two points: Carrier's machine had never proven that it could freeze ice, and Carrier's claims were based on a machine of "test tube size."

There was enough truth in his story to make the situation rather critical. The centrifugal had never been used for chilling brine to subfreezing temperatures. In fact only a very few had been proven in the much softer duty of chilling water for air conditioning.

But fortunately Lyle had applied his basically honest selling practice in his first contracts with all of the M.S.G. people — and, consequently, most of Smith's recitation was an old story to them.

The opening spec of 1937 Ringling Barnum circus is pictured in another Kelty view. Pfening.

So when Smith had talked himself out, Lyle asked him what he meant by "test tube size" — and got the answer that it was less than one ton of capacity.

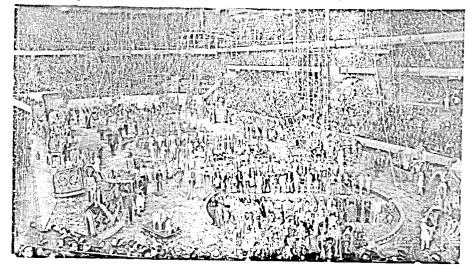
Lyle then exploded a bomb under the DeLaVerne people by explaining to Smith that while the Carrier machine had never actually frozen ice its "test tube" model was good for a husky 70 tons of capacity — and had been inspected in the Carrier Laboratory by the M.S.G. people.

"Tex" Rickard then brought the meeting to an end by saying that his confidence in Carrier was not shaken and that the Carrier contract was good enough for him without a bond.

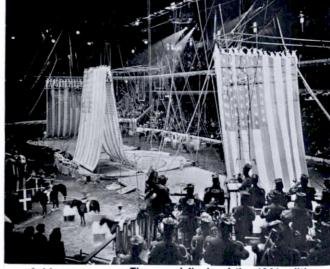
His confidence seems to have been justified by the record.

While this was a first step toward using the centrifugal for cooling brine to sub freezing temperatures, it was not as big a step as the foregoing account might indicate.

In those days skating and hockey were Winter sports and something to be done only during the Winter months. Hence, when the Garden







Gargantua the Great was displayed in the Garden basement menagerie of the big show in 1940. Pfening Collection.

needed ice, no refrigeration was needed for air conditioning and the temperature of city water would be 55°F or lower.

Accordingly the same machines would serve the air conditioning in the summer and the skating rink in the winter — with condensing water not higher than 72°F in summer or 55°F in winter.

And — under these conditions the temperature lift from evaporator to condenser was practically the same for all three conditions of operation as

This elephant long mount is shown on the hippodrome track of Madison Square Garden in 1940. The back door is at the upper left. Pfening Collection.



stated on the first page of this memo. Actually the difference between condensing and evaporating temperatures was about 65°F in all three cases and well within the normal air conditioning range and the capabilities of the centrifugal compressor.⁵²

Logan Lewis 2/1/59

LL/jf

There was also a controversy concerning smoking:

Probably the best reasons for dignifying this incident with a memo are:

- That certain news-print was highly derogatory to Carrier Engineering Corporation, and
- That Carrier won what could have become a battle with the Hearst newspapers.

And there might be a third. If the incident had happened 10 or 15 years later it would probably have been shrugged off as a bit of unfortunate publicity. But in 1926 it really was critical. We were just emerging from the era of darkness in which the mere appearance of the words air conditioning or the name Carrier in news print, called for a celebration. Both were just that immature in the public eye and acceptance.

The substance of the following summary is provided by documents which were removed from the original contract files on #1879 and 1881 and attached to the first copy of this memo.

At the turn of 1925-26, the Boxing Commission ruled against smoking on fight nights. They thought that vision from the far-reaches of the galleries was obscured too much by the haze.—
or maybe that there was too much haze.

As might be expected this promptly became a matter of high controversy in many daily papers. The haze was there — due to the combination of tobacco smoke, the beams of electric light, and the vast dimensions. Noth-

The grand finale of the 1941 edition of the Greatest Show on Earth featured 56 girls climbing rope ladders to unfold giant American flags. Pfening Collection.

ing within a hundred proverbial miles of economic reach, however, could have been done to prevent it.

One of them, the New York Daily Mirror, printed an article in the Final Edition of Feb. 6, 1926 — containing the following:

(Tex Rickard is going to bring suit against the Carrier Engineering Corporation, which installed the system in the big arena at a cost estimated at \$150,000.

The Boxing Commission has denounced the new ventilating system (as) a failure.)





The finale of the 1942 big show featured four giant paintings of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Pfening Collection.

confirmed a "... telephone communication with you this morning . . ." in a letter addressed to the Editor of the Daily Mirror. That letter also provides the following quotes: (... Unless we can have . . . retrac-

We reacted almost instantly as on

that same day W. H. Carrier, President,

tion as dictated by us, (it will be) necessary (for us to start) libel proceedings . . .)

Carrier's legal position was a strong one. Technically and factually the air conditioning system had been installed by E. G. Woolfolk & Co., heating contractors according to the specifications of Dwight D. Kimball, the Consulting Engineer, and Thomas W. Lamb, the Architect for the Garden.

Tex Rickard promptly declared that the Daily Mirror's reporter was absolutely mistaken in quoting him.

The lawyers for both sides met in the C.E.C. offices at 39 Cortland Street on March 12, 1926 and promptly settled

would publish a statement dictated by Carrier.

A good record of this meeting (and Carrier's demands) appears in a memo written by Charles J. Staples, Carrier's Attorney. Agreement on the part of the Mirror was confirmed in a letter of March 13th (Saturday) written to Staples by John T. Sturdevant, Attorney for the Mirror. In this letter, Sturdevant said that he would (... recommend the publication of this article (by Carrier) in the 'Mirror' and in such of the other Hearst papers as may have published . . .) anything "substantially similar" to the original.

A typical Ringling Barnum spec of the late 1940s and early 1950s is shown in the Garden. In more recent years the band stand has been on the arena floor. Pfening Collection.



The rest of the documents do not provide a complete record. They show that the article was ghost-written by D. C. (Dan) Lindsay and approved by Staples. But no complete copies of either the original or the retraction are to be found . . .

In conclusion it seems fair to add something of a confession. Carrier had worked closely with the Garden's Architect (Lamb) and its Consulting Engineer (Kimball). It had sold the air equipment to the Contractor (Woolfolk) and the refrigeration direct to the

And it had not, at any time, refused to take any of the credit that may have been reflected in its direction.53

Logan Lewis 2/2/59

LL/jf

The late Karl L. King, of the King Music House, Fort Dodge, Iowa, and former musician and bandmaster with Sells-Floto-Buffalo Bill and Barnum & Bailey Circuses wrote the march, New Madison Square Garden, at the completion of the new building. Mr. King related that he composed the selection ". . . for them at that time for no particularly good reason except that it seemed like a good circus style march." It is a fine circus march and should be played more than it is today.

The 1925 Madison Square Garden came to an end for circuses and other entertainments when, on February 12, 1968 at 8:15 p.m., New York's New Madison Square Garden opened its doors for the first time. The new palace of play was erected above the busy Penn-Central Railroad Station, at 34th Street. "The new circular Garden has tiers of leather seats in orange, gold, green and blue. Vision is unimpeded from any vantage point because the ceiling is suspended from forty-eight steel cables and no pillars obstruct the view." The chief entertainers that night were Pearl Bailey, Bob Hope and Bing Crosby; Mayor John Lindsay and Senator Robert Kennedy were in attendance.

FOOTNOTES

- 41. Survey, April 22, 1911, pp. 131-135. 42. Billboard, December 2, 1911, p. 6. 43. Outlook, August 27, 1924, pp. 624-625. 44. Literary Digest, April 22, 1911, pp. 36-40. 45. Weather Vein, 6 (2), 1926.
- Fortune, October, 1935, p. 102.
- 47. Ibid., 108.
- 48. Literary Digest, May 23, 1911, pp. 39-40.
- 49. Fortune, October, 1935, p. 108. 50. Margaret Ingels, Willis Haviland Carrier, Air Conditioning (Garden City, N.Y .: Father of Country Life Press, 1952), p. 70. Quoted with the permission of the Carrier Corporation, Syracuse,
 - 51. Ibid., p. 70.
- 52. The writer wishes to express sincere appreciation to Mr. Logan L. Lewis (one of the founders of the Carrier Corporation) for his keen interest in this project and for furnishing much data including correspondence, in respect to Madison Square Garden history and the air-conditioning of the Garden. Thanks are also due to Carrier Corporation, particularly Mr. Walter G. Iles, Asst. General Counsel, for granting permission to publish official company documents contained herein.

53. Ibid.

AL.G. BARNES CIRCUS

Season of 1922 By Charles A. Sprague

Several unusual events occured during the 1922 season of the Al. G. Barnes Circus. These events will be highlighted without attempting to present a complete day to day log of the 1922 route.

This was the show's thirteenth year of operation, which in itself might have been considered a bad omen by a superstitious person. But Al. G. Barnes was a confirmed optimist. He had enjoyed spectacular success ever since he started out at the turn of the century with a talking dog which he exhibited wherever he could scare up a crowd. He loved animals and kept adding various kinds to his act, which soon became the feature attraction on several circuses and carnivals. His aggregation broke away in 1910 and became a solely-owned, full-blown, ten car railroad circus. This west coast-based show specialized in trained animal acts which were enthusiastically received by the public. During World War I, the United States government restricted the show's travels to states west of the Mississippi River. But despite this restriction, manpower shortages, and other warrelated vexations, the Al. G. Barnes Circus continued to grow and prosper. This was especially true during the immediate postwar years. Between 1919 and 1922 Barnes purchased 300 acres of land near Culver City, California and constructed an excellent winter quarters. (Bandwagon July-August 1967). In 1921 the train was improved by the addition of new double-length steel flatcars, and the giant elephant Tusko was acquired. Although Tusko was slightly smaller than Barnum's Jumbo, he still ranks as the largest elephant ever to have been exhibited during this century. He required a special oversized stock car for his transportation, a foot higher than normal and with a lowered floor. As a result of this fantastic growth, the Al. G. Barnes Trained Wild Animal Circus was in 1922 second only to the Ringling-Barnum combination. It was about equal in size to Hagenbeck Wallace since both shows traveled on thirty cars that year.1 But the Barnes trained



Al G. Barnes and his prized possession Tusko, world's largest elephant. Pfening Collection.

animal acts far outshined Hagenbeck Wallace and Ringling Barnum in number and excellence.

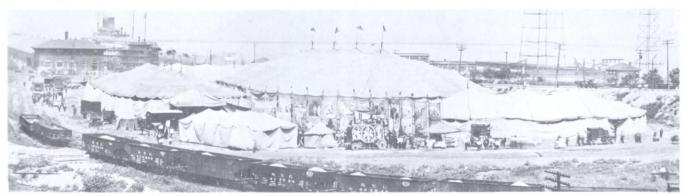
On one previous occasion, the Al. G. Barnes Circus had journeyed as far east as Cincinnati, Ohio.² But in March 1922 the show set out on its first transcontinental tour. It played the usual Barnes territory in the west, northwest, rocky mountain,

The Al. G. Barnes Circus is pictured on the lakefront in Cleveland, Ohio, on August 21, 22, 1922. The menagerie top is at the left of the big top, allowing the performing wild animals to be exhibited in the menagerie. Pfening Collection. and plain states; then headed east across Illinois and Indiana.

As the show entered Ohio at Lima on Saturday, July 22, unforeseen circumstances began to take effect. A nationwide strike of railroad workmen was brewing, and sporadic local walkouts were beginning to occur. A Sunday run put the show into Zanesville in plenty of time for both performances on Monday. But here, B&O Railroad officials said that they would be unable to supply a locomotive or crew to move the train on to Cambridge. Al. G. Barnes gave no hint of this trouble as he rode jovially at the head of the parade through downtown Zanesville.³

An urgent conference with Pennsylvania Railroad officials produced a substitute route: North to Trinway via the Pennsy line, then east to Newcomerstown via the Panhandle, then south to Cambridge via the C&M. This meant traveling more than 70 miles and switching to three different rail lines in order to cover the short 25 miles from Zanesville to Cambridge. Furthermore, in order to clear a low tunnel between Newcomerstown and Cambridge, it was necessary to remove the wheels from the largest wagons before loading them on the flatcars. (How would you load a 10 ton baggage wagon minus its wheels?) As a result of this back-breaking and timeconsuming task, the train didn't leave Zanesville until 7:00 a.m. on Tuesday. Tusko's oversized stock car was hitched to an eastbound B&O freight train which left Zanesville at 7:30 a.m. Many of the performers made the short trip from Zanesville to Cambridge in taxi cabs following the Monday evening performance and checked into Cambridge hotels. The show train was further delayed when one of the cars broke a wheel near Trinway. It arrived at Cambridge about 1:00 p.m.4

The sagging spirits of several hundred Cambridge circus fans who had been waiting since dawn were somewhat buoyed by the announcement that the parade would be staged at 5:00 p.m. But instead of parading,





the wagons were corraled to enclose the menagerie in lieu of erecting the tent. Smoldering hostility threatened to break out and disrupt presentation of the evening performance.⁵

Less hardy souls might have blown the Cambridge stand, but Al. G. Barnes had a philosophy that "Hard luck is the harbinger of good business." His theory was certainly proved that night. The Cambridge Jeffersonian reported as follows:

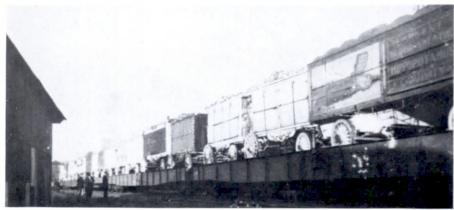
Al. G. Barnes Wild Animal Circus shattered two records at the performance Tuesday night at Lakeview Park, surpassing in receipts and paid admissions the largest amounts taken in by the company before exhibiting in Cambridge. The announcement was made Tuesday night by Al. G. Barnes, owner of the show, at the conclusion of the performance. The attendance Tuesday night totaled 9,400 persons, and of this number 2,200 were children. Exclusive of the complimentary tickets distributed among officials, owners of the showgrounds, press, etc., there were 8,900 pasteboards collected at the gate, each representing a paid admission. Only in one instance did the attendance surpass that at the Cambridge Tuesday night performance and that was at Seattle, Washington; but the receipts were not as large as those Tuesday evening because of the additional complimentary tickets distributed. The aggregate receipts from the circus, concert, sideshow, The Barnes train is shown as it arrived in Marietta, Ohio, in 1922. Jim Stowe Collection.

and concessions amounted to \$14,000 according to an accurate estimate compiled Wednesday.

The mamouth tent was thronged to capacity with men, women, and children eager for the performance; and after all of the general and reserved seats had been filled, chairs were set any place, anywhere the occupant could view the three rings. When all of the extra chairs were occupied, canvas was stretched on the ground in front of the reserve seats and hundreds of persons contented themselves with these meager accommodations rather than withdraw without witnessing the performance. Because of the crowd in front of the reserved seats, seven feature horse riding acts were cancelled because of danger of injuring persons seated outside the reservations.

In spite of the great congestion, all seemed to enjoy themselves immensely and the popular opinion was that Al. G. Barnes presented the greatest show exhibited in Cambridge by any traveling organization and the trained animals performed with almost human intelligence. The original stunts per-

The hippo den and other cages on flats await unloading in Marietta, Ohio. Jim Stowe Collection.



formed by the army of clowns kept the crowd in the best of spirits. The pageant, "Alice in Jungleland" was replete with brilliance and harmony and featured the program. The band also won much favorable commendation. The equipment was clean and up to date and discipline prevailed among the employees, the usual profanity around a circus being absent as the management strictly prohibits swearing and penalizes violators by imposing a fine. Mr. Barnes, mounted on Tusko, the largest elephant in the world, was introduced to the crowd. The show trains left Cambridge at an early hour Wednesday morning for Wheeling.

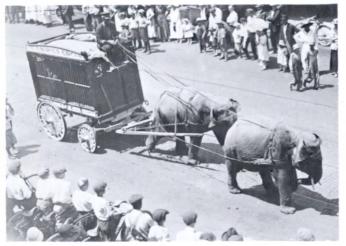
The B&O Railroad was unable to take the train to Wheeling, and once again the Pennsylvania came to the rescue. This rerequired backtracking through the low tunnel to Newcomerstown, so consequently the wagons had to be loaded minus the wheels again. The Wheeling Register stated that the train came puffing into the Bridgeport Yards at 1:30 p.m. on Wednesday. The parade and matinee were cancelled, and no report was given concerning the evening performance.

While enroute to Parkersburg on Thursday, the engine broke down due to a lack of proper maintenance and the train was stalled north of Williamstown until after noon. The Some of the circus people walked into Williamstown and boarded an interurban trolley car for the remaining fourteen miles to Parkersburg. At Parkersburg some of the large wagons would not clear the Ohio River bridge and had to be rerouted to the showgrounds where they arrived about 4:00 PM, barely in time for the single evening performance.

The original route called for the show to proceed to Huntington on Friday; with Charleston, Clarksburg, and Fairmont to follow. But now the C&O Railroad agent said that they would be unable to move the train beyond Huntington. So in order not to be delayed indefinitely at Huntington, the show laid over in Parkersburg on Friday. They paraded and gave unscheduled afternoon and evening performances.8

Friday's edition of the *Parkersburg Sentinel* stated, "Following this evening's performance the show will travel to Marietta, Ohio where two performances will be given on Saturday and then the regular routing will be followed, the show going to Clarksburg to fill a regular engagement on Monday." However, the *Parkersburg News* speculated, "It is probable that the train could not go through the tunnels between here and Grafton and other towns in the eastern part of the state."

Friday's editions of the Marietta Times, and The Register Leader announced that the Al. G. Barnes Circus would appear at Marietta on the following day. And with absolutely no other advertising, the show rolled into town at dawn on Saturday, July 20th.





This two elephant hitch pulling a cross cage was a feature of the Barnes parades in the early 1920s. McClintock Collection.

Saturday evening's Marietta Times reported as follows:

Despite the fact that the Al. G. Barnes Circus came here with but one day notice, the business district was crowded with people Saturday during the noon hour when the street parade was passing. The "something different" slogan of the circus was evident in the parade, for over 20 wagon cages of animals were included in the street parade. Starting at the fairgrounds at 11:00 o'clock, the parade went down Second to Greene Street, down Greene to Front, and up Front to the fairgrounds. All equipment of the circus is in fine condition and the appearance of the horses was especially noticed because they are in excellent condition despite the fact that the circus has been traveling for several months, coming from the west coast. Three bands furnished music during the procession and the usual steam calliope brought up the rear. More animals were displayed in this parade than in any other similar parade shown here, is the opinion of many Marietta circus fans.

I missed seeing that parade because I was among a crew of about fifty local boys who were gaining some first hand knowledge of how to carry side poles, bibles, seat planks, jacks, and stringers. It was the hardest work that I had ever done, but I wish that I could do it again tomorrow. Our "admit one boy" passes entitled us to see both the big show and the sideshow, a fringe benefit which I believe was unique with Barnes.

The spec "Alice in Jungleland" was led by Al. G. Barnes in person, smiling and waving to the excited crowd from a divantype of howdah high atop Tusko. This was definitely not the clumsy, straight-backed chair pictured in the Chindahl and May books. The performance certainly lived up to the Barnes motto "Every animal an actor, and every act an animal act." The sfeel arena was almost continually occupied throughout the entire performance. Chief

trainer, Louis Roth, worked a group of 31 black maned lions, and Lorainne Wallace wrestled the famous tiger Rajah, Mabel Stark no longer with the show. Other cat acts and mixed groups were handled by Bessie Duford and Pearl Lingo. Cheerful Gardner was in charge of the elephants. The band played such popular hits as The Sheik, Hindustan, Stumblin, and Three O'clock in the Morning. Samson "the aviating lion" climaxed the performance as he was hoisted to the top of the tent on a small platform from which spewed brilliant fireworks. A beautiful girl stood beside him while the band played the national anthem. This was a tremendously thrilling spectacle! The following program was taken from the Billboard.

Al. G. Barnes Circus 1922 Performance Program

Opening Spec "Alice in Jungleland," requiring 25 minutes.

The "Alice in Jungleland" spec is shown going into the big top. Bessie Harvey, prima donna is on elephant Jewel, other elephants are Pearl, Jenny and Babe. Pfening Collection.

These two bears pulled a chariot in the opening spec, "Alice in Jungleland." Pfening Collection.

Display No. 1

Ring 1, Ponies; Arena, Panthers with Nellie Roth; Ring 3, Ponies.

Display No. 2

On the track, Ponies; Arena, Brown Bears with Capt. Wilson; On the track, Tableau Carriage.

Display No. 3

Clowns.

Display No. 4

Ring 1, Two Elephants; Arena, Leopards with Capt. Bernard; Ring 3; Two Elephants.

Display No. 5

Ring 1, Revolving Table; with dogs & ponies; Arena, Two Elephants; On the track, Two Elephants.

Display No. 6

Ring 1, Wrestling Brown Bears; Ring 3, Wrestling Brown Bears.

Display No. 7

Prima Donna Bessie Harvey singing while 100 pigeons are flying around the center ring.

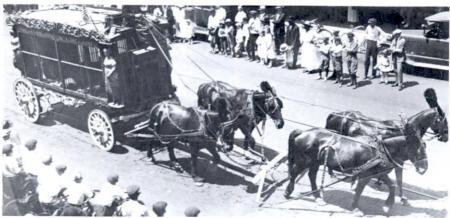
Display No. 8

Arena, Mixed Wild Animals with Louis Roth.

Display No. 9

Ring 1, Twelve Liberty Horses; Arena,





Carvings from a former Forepaugh-Sells cage were used by Barnes, as shown in this parade photo from the 1922 season. Pfening Collection.

Brown Bears with Capt. Bernard; Ring 3, Twelve Liberty Horses.

Display No. 10

Ring 1, Oxen and Llama; Arena, 5 Lions with Miss DuFord; Ring 3, Seals; On the track, Singing Mule.

Display No. 11

Ring 1, Posing Horses; Arena, White Posing Horse; Ring 3, Posing Horses.

Display No. 12

Ring 1, Five Performing Hogs; Arena Leopard on Zebra with Austin King; Twenty-Nine Dancing Horses in rings and on the track.

Display No. 17

Ring 1, Seven Elephants; Arena, Three lions riding horse; Ring 3, Tusko, world's largest elephant.

Display No. 18

Ring 1, Monkey, Dog & Pony; Arena, Nine male lions, with Loraine Wallace; Ring 3, Pony; On the track, Monkey slide for life.

Display No. 19

Ring 1, Aerial Pony; Arena, "Sampson" Aerial lion, with Margaret Thompson; Ring 3, Aerial Pony.

The after show concert consisted of wild west and the Famous Argentine Troupe of Acrobats.



Bessie Duford is shown with the horse, and riding lion act, a regular feature on the Barnes show. Ed C. Buman photo from Bradbury Collection.

After the matinee Mr. Barnes mingled with the crowd in the menagerie where all of the less-ferocious animals had been tethered on the ground outside of their cages. I watched and listened while he took the hand of a large ape to show the interested spectators how the thumb of the species was receding. He was truly "The Prince of Showmen."

From Marietta the show made a Sunday run to Steubenville, Ohio where two performances were given on Monday. One more matinee was lost due to late arrival



Edward A. Woeckener, bandmaster of the Barnes Circus and his twenty-eight piece band sat above the wild animal shoots from the menagerie. Ed C. Buman photo from Bradbury Collection.

Ring 3, Pony and Leaping Dogs. Display No. 13

Ring 1, Bucking Mules; Arena, 10 Bengal Tigers, with Louis Roth; Ring 3, Bucking Mules.

Display No. 14

Ring 1, Dogs; Ring 3, Dogs; On the track, Elephants with Cheerful Gardner.

Ring 1, Zebras; Arena, Tiger Riding Horse, with Pearl Lingo; Ring 3, Four Camels.

Display No. 16

Classic Circus Scenics



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SINCE 1944

at Connelsville, Pennsylvania on the following day, Tuesday, August 1st. On August 2nd the chiefs of the striking rail employees voted to accept President Harding's proposals for ending the railroad strike.9 So things settled down transportationwise, and no more performances were missed for the rest of the season.

The show abandoned Huntington, Charleston, Clarksburg, and Fairmont, W. Va. completely; but played Hagerstown and Cumberland, Maryland, which were probably on the original route. They doubled back across Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois playing such large cities as Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Akron, and Columbus for the first time. They re-crossed the Mississippi River at St. Louis, Missouri on September 8th and then headed into the deep south. Three performances were given in one day at Baton Rouge, Louisiana on September 26th.

The season ended at Gainesville, Texas on October 27th, but instead of returning to its newly completed quarters in California, the show wintered at Loves Field. Dallas, Texas. Mr. Barnes told Billboard that he did this in order to avoid the possibility of the show becoming stranded between Texas and California because of the widespread railroad strikes. They apparently had no more of this kind of trouble after August 2nd. A more probable reason was that he was having marital trouble and feared legal action by his wife if he returned to California.

Great man though he was, Al. G. Barnes didn't accomplish everything singlehandedly. The following are some of the key people who were with it during the 1922 season:

Harley S. Tyler, Manager Alfred Wolfe, Auditor Murray Pennock, General Agent Dixie Engle, Contracting Agent Austin Lipsett, Contracting Agent William Haines, Traffic Manager W. J. Erickson, Manager Car #1 F. D. Garrigus, Manager Car #2 Bill Campbell, Checker up Rex DeRosselli, Contracting Press Agent Thomas Dawson, Press Agent Andrew Readon, Press Agent Miles Barry, 24 Hour Man Harry Meyers, 24 Hour Man Robert Thornton, Equestrian Director William Peck, Position unknown E. T. Whitney, Position unknown Bill Moore, Position unknown Elmer Lingo, Position unknown

E. Muessig, Position unknown The above list of 1922 personnel was given to me many years ago by the late Bob Taber.

FOOTNOTES

- 1. Billboard, April 1 and 29, 1922
- Zanesville Times-Signal 7/25/22
- Zanesville Times-Signal 7/24/22
- Cambridge Jettersonian 7/25/22
- Cambridge Jeffersonian 7/26/22
- Wheeling Register 7/27/22
- 7. Marietta Times 7/27/22 8. Parkersburg News 7/28/22
- 9. Parkersburg Sentinel 8/2/22

ONE SHEET

By Stuart Thaver

This column is intended to fill the need for a means of publishing research too incomplete for formal publication or too short to fit the format of the Bandwagon, but too important to let lie lacking more information. In that regard it might be considered a forum for the working researcher. Years ago the various publications printed short items clipped from newspapers or written from memory and many of these held valuable clues to projects underway or supplied a stimulus for research.

Also, it is projected as a place for book reviews and critical comment on the historical writings of the past. Contributions from readers will be most welcome.

In the course of a research project a writer becomes the debtor of many persons. Typically, he uses previous work done by other people to which he adds his own discoveries and/or arguments. The end product is either a different thesis from that previously propounded or an increase in what was theretofore known.

In research into the history of the American circus there is one group of people to which almost every writer is in debt. These are the ones that at one time or another were willing to read their local newspapers and abstract the circus references. To a writer working in the period prior to the common use of route books nothing takes more time than to ascertain a show route in order to investigate the show itself.



What these kind souls have done is to absolve the researcher from the necessity of reading all the newspapers in a given area for a given time, a slow and laborious process.

Fortunately, too, the heroes of which I speak are geographically scattered so that their work provides a fine over-all view of the country, principally that area east of the

Massachusetts is represented by the work of Richard W. Flint, who read the Springfield papers, and by Robert Kitchen, who did the Fall River work covering 1833-99.

Harold Gorsuch went to the trouble of abstracting the Lebanon, Ohio papers some years ago. Other Ohio contributions are from Fred Pfening, III, who has done Columbus, Richard E. Conover in Xenia and John Polacsek who read the Cleveland papers.

J. D. Draper has provided a very complete summary of the Hagerstown, Maryland activity. Gordon Carver has contributed not only a listing of the Newark, New Jersey information, but copied in full all the ads he found.

Don Hensey has done this work for Kenosha, Wisconsin, Don Francis for San Francisco and Sverre Braathen for Madison, Wisconsin. All of these efforts - some published, some not — are important contributions to the assembled data on the circus

There are two lists which stand out because of their size, both being more than the listings of a single town's show dates. One is the massive compendium made under the direction of the late Homer DeGolver, one time Historian of the Circus Fans Association. He apparently hired readers in various parts of the country to use the newspapers in the larger cities and the results are now in two valuable notebooks in the Hertzberg Collection at the San Antonio Public Library.

The other of these — still being fashioned - is the work of Robert Brisendine of Atlanta, Georgia. This researcher has compiled the complete text of all circus references in the Atlanta, Macon and Augusta newspapers. This has been of great value and was especially so to the late Richard E. Conover in his work on the circuses of the

Efforts such as these delineated here are generally doomed to footnote mention, at best, but seem to be produced for the joy of doing it, the best possible goal of any task. Without the devotion of these researchers much that has been published on the early circus would still be in manuscript.

As a footnote to the above it should be pointed out that there are also printed works which give the circus show date history of various cities. Among these are George C. D. Odell, Annals of the New York Stage (New York, 15 vols., 1927-1949) which is a most complete listing of entertainment in that city to 1894. San Francisco, Los Angeles and most California cities are in Chang Reynolds, Pioneer Circuses of the West, (Los Angeles, 1966). Under the guidance of the late George Chindahl the librarian at the Adriance Memorial Library in Poughkeepsie,

Amy Ver Nooy abstracted the papers in that vicinity and her efforts were published by the Dutchess County Historical Society. A great deal of early Albany, New York circus history is in the memoirs of George Stone, published by the local historical society in its Historical Collections. The Philadelphia Theatre in the Eighteenth Century by Thomas Clark Pollock (New York, 1968) and Old Drury of Philadelphia by Reese D. James (Philadelphia, 1932) have the show dates for that city to 1835.

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